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THE SECOND NUN'S PROLOGUE, ALANUS, AND MACROBIUS

The famous Invocation to the Virgin in the Prologue to the *Second Nun's Tale* has been repeatedly discussed, and the investigations of Holthausen, Brown, and Tupper have thrown into strong relief the blending of phrases from the Latin hymns with the lines of St. Bernard's prayer to the Virgin at the beginning of Canto XXXIII of the *Paradiso*.¹ But the interfusing of related passages is even more complex than has hitherto been recognized. For phraseology borrowed from Alanus de Insulis and from another even more unsuspected source is closely interwoven with the lines from Dante and the hymns.

I

The passage from Alanus with which we are concerned is the somewhat gorgeously rhetorical panegyric upon the Blessed Virgin at the close of the fifth *Distinctio* of the *Anticlaudianus*.² It is the climax of the long account of the journey through the air to which Chaucer refers in the *House of Fame*,³ and the allusion to "many a citezein" (*HF.*, 930) recalls this very chapter (ix), as well as the next

¹ See, for the latest and fullest discussion, Carleton Brown, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 1 ff., supplemented by Tupper, *Mod. Lang. Notes*, XXX, 9-10, and Brown, *ibid.*, pp. 231-32.

² *Satirical Poets of the Twelfth Century* (Rolls Series), II, 362-64.

³ *HF.*, 985-88:

And than thoughte I on Marcian,
And eek on Anticlaudian,
That sooth was hir descripcioun
Of al the hevenes region.

but one before (vii).¹ The lines from the *Anticlaudianus*, accordingly, come from an account which Chaucer states explicitly that he knew. I shall include as little as possible of what has been pointed out in earlier discussions, but a slight degree of repetition will be necessary in order to bring out the extraordinary dovetailing of passages involved.

Thou mayde and mooder, doghter of thy sone²
Vergine Madre, figlia del tuo Figlio³

Thou welles of mercy, sinful soules cure
[te fontem pietatis]⁴ . . . medicina reis⁵

In whom that God, for bountee, chees to wone
In cujus ventris thalamo sibi summa paravit
Hospitium deitas⁶

Thou humble, and heigh over every creature
Umile ed alta più che creatura⁷

Thou nobledest so ferforth our nature,
That no desdeyn the maker hadde of kinde
Tu se' colei che l'umana natura
Nobilitasti sì, che il suo Fattore
Non disdegnò di farsi sua fattura⁸

¹ The chapter with which we are dealing (ix) begins: "Hic superos cives proprio praececlit honore Virgo," and at once Alanus enters upon his panegyric.

² G 36. The remaining lines from Chaucer follow in order.

³ Par., XXXIII, 1. I am following the *Oxford Dante*.

⁴ *Anticlaudianus*, Dist. VI, cap. vi, 10. I have bracketed the phrase, because it does not occur in the immediate context of the remaining passages. Too much stress, however, should not be laid on the parallel quoted above, for the phrase was a not uncommon one. It occurs in Gautier de Colncy (*Les Miracles de la Sainte Vierge*, ed. M. l'Abbé Poquet): "fons de miséricorde" (col. 26). Compare also "Fontaine de pitié, fons de miséricorde" (col. 759); "C'est la fontaine, c'est la doit Donc sourt et viens miséricorde" (col. 5); "Dame, qui fleurs, fontaines et doit Ies de toute miséricorde" (col. 343). Chaucer may possibly have drawn the phrase from Gautier, or its source may be found in the hymn literature, as pointed out by Brown (*Med. Phil.*, IX, 7, n. 7). And it also occurs in Petrarch's canzone addressed to the Virgin, which closes the *Canzoniere*: "Tu partoristi il fonte di pietate." (With Petrarch's next line—"E di giustizia il Sol"—compare G 52: "Thou, that art the sonne of excellence.") See also Toynbee's discussion of "'Fons pietatis' in the *De Monarchia*" (and of its interesting source) in *Dante Studies and Researches*, pp. 297-98.

⁵ *Anticlaudianus*, Dist. V, cap. ix, 26. In the light of what follows, Alanus' phrase (which occurs in a long list of the familiar designations of the Virgin) is seen to lie closer at hand than the "medicina peccatoris" of the hymns (see Brown, p. 7).

⁶ Dist. V, cap. ix, 13-14.

⁷ Par., XXXIII, 2.

⁸ Par., XXXIII, 4-5.

His sone in blode and flesh to clothe and winde.
 [Hospitium deitas], *tunicam sibi texuit ipse*
Filius artificis summi, nostraeque salutis
*Induit ipse togam, nostro vestitus amictu.*¹

It will be observed that the borrowings from the *Anticlaudianus* account for all the interpolations which Chaucer has made in Dante's lines so far as this stanza is concerned.

The phraseology of the first two lines of the next stanza is in part suggested by the lines which immediately follow in Dante, the turn of the thought, however, being different.

Withinne the *cloistre blisful* of thy sydes
 Took mannes shap the eternal love and pees
Nel ventre tuo si raccese l'amore,
Per lo cui caldo nell'eterna pace
*Così è germinato questo fiore.*²

Chaucer's "cloistre blisful" Brown refers³ to the "*claustrum Mariae*" of the *Quem terra*. But there is a link between the two which has been overlooked. For in "cloistre blisful" Chaucer is recalling a phrase from an earlier canto of the *Paradiso*, which likewise applies to Christ and Mary:

Con le due stole *nel beato chiostro*
 Son le due luci sole che saliro.⁴

One other suggestion seems to have come from Alanus, for "hir lyves leche" (G 56) recalls Alanus' "Aegrotat medicus, ut sanet morbidus aegrum."⁵ So much for the interweaving of Dante and Alanus.

¹ Dist. V, cap. ix, 14-16. Compare "suo Factore" and "artificis summi" as an associative link.

² Par., XXXIII, 7-9. Compare Dante's "Nel ventre tuo" and Alanus' "In cufus ventris thalamo" as another link between the two passages.

³ Mod. Phil., IX, 6.

⁴ Par., XXV, 127-28. The reference here of course is to heaven (cf. *Purg.*, XXVI, 128-29), but it is the phrase that clung to Chaucer's mind. Whether the line from the hymn (which Chaucer certainly knew) called up the earlier passage from Dante or vice versa, it is impossible to say. A similar use of *chiostro* appears in Petrarch's canzone to the Virgin, referred to above (p. 194, n. 4): "Ricorditi che fece il peccar nostro Prender Dio, per scamparne, Umana carne al tuo virginal chiostro."

The latter part of Chaucer's phrase ("of thy sydes") occurs at least a score of times in Gautier de Colncy: "c'est la pucèle En cui sains flans chambre e cèle Cil qui pour nous mourut en croiz" (col. 5); "qui en ses flans le roy porta" (col. 6); "char preieuse en tes flans prist" (col. 13); "Je chanterai de la sainte pucèle Es cui sains flans le fluz dieu devint hom" (col. 15). See also cols. 16, 19, 24, 55, 74, 458, 690, 715, 729, 745, 747, 748, 751, 760.

⁵ Dist. V, cap. ix, 66. Compare ll. 52-53: "aeger Factus, ut aegrotos sanaret." Gautier de Colncy has: "Est la Virge fisiciana" (col. 101, l. 1103).

In the remainder of the Invocation, up to its last stanza, Chaucer passes back and forth between Dante, the *Quem terra*, the *Salve regina*, and the *Ave Maria*,¹ until in the final stanza (ll. 71-77) a new and exceedingly interesting strand enters the fabric.

II

Lines 71-74 of the Prologue are as follows:

And of thy light *my soule in prison lighte*,
That troubled is by the *contagioun*
Of my body, and also by the *wighte*
Of *erthly luste* and fals *affeccioun*.

Brown attempts to show that these lines "present unmistakable evidence of the influence of the *Paradiso*,"² and offers the following parallels, still from Bernard's prayer:

Perchè *tu ogni nube gli dislegli*
Di sua mortalià coi preghi tuoi,
Sì che il sommo piacer gli si dispieghi
. . . . che conservi sani,
Dopo tanto veder, gli *affetti* suoi.
Vince tua guardia i *movimenti umani*.³

But the source is elsewhere, and in part it is in another book which we know Chaucer to have been reading, *in conjunction with Dante and Alanus*, at the time he was engaged upon the *Parlement of Foules* and the *Hous of Fame*.

In the summary of the *Somnium Scipionis* at the beginning of the *Parlement* occur the lines:

And that our present worldes lyves space
Nis but a maner deth.⁴

The corresponding passage in the *Somnium* is as follows:

"immo vero" inquit "hi vivunt, qui e corporum vinculis tamquam e carcere evolaverunt, vestra vero quae dicitur vita mors est."⁵

On this passage Macrobius comments at great length.⁶ The idea of the "soule in prison" recurs again and again:

¹ See the articles of Brown and Tupper referred to above.

² *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 8-9.

³ *Par.*, XXXIII, 31-33, 35-37. The italics in this passage are Brown's.

⁴ V, 53-54.

⁵ *Somnium Scipionis*, III, 2.

⁶ *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, I, x, 6-xii, 18.

ipsa corpora, quibus inclusae animae carcerem foedum tenebris horridum sordibus et cruore patiuntur (I, x, 9); per alteram vero, quae vulgo vita existimatur, *animam de immortalitatis suae luce ad quasdam tenebras mortis inPELLI vocabuli testemur horrore*. nam ut constet animal, necesse est, *ut in corpore anima vinciat*ur . . . unde Cicero pariter utrumque significans, *corpus esse vinculum*, corpus esse sepulcrum, *quod carcer est sepulcrum* ait (I, xi, 2-3).¹

And in this same portion of the *Comment* we find, not only the rare phrase "contagioun of the body,"² but in conjunction with it other verbal parallels that are conclusive:

Secundum hos ergo, quorum sectae amicior est ratio, animae beatae ab omni cuiuscumque contagione corporis liberae caelum possident, quae vero appetentiam corporis et huius, quam in terris vitam vocamus, ab illa specula altissima et perpetua luce despiciens desiderio latenti cogitaverit, pondere ipso terrenae cogitationis paulatim in inferiora delabitur.³

That Chaucer had definitely in mind the phraseology of this comment on a passage which he had himself translated there can be, I think, no doubt.

But there is another notable comment which seems to stand in somewhat baffling relation to Chaucer's words. The splendid lines in the sixth book of the *Aeneid* (703-51) which deal with the relation of the river of Lethe to the union of souls and bodies, underlie, of course, the discussion in Macrobius, so that the remoter source of Chaucer's lines is really *Aeneid*, VI, 730-34:

Igneus est ollis vigor et caelestis origo
Seminibus, quantum non noxia corpora tardant
Terrenique hebetant artus moribundaque membra.
Hinc metuunt cupiuntque, dolent gaudentque, neque auras,
Respiciunt clausae tenebris et carcere caeco.

¹ Compare also I, xlii, 10.

² On the infrequent use of the word "contagioun" see Brown's comment, *Mod. Phil.*, IX, 10.

³ I, xi, 11. The phrase "contagio corporis" occurs again in I, viii, 8: "Secundae, quas purgatorias vocant, hominis sunt, qui divini capax est, solumque animum eius expellunt, qui decrevit se a corporis contagione purgare." And ten lines farther on appears "terrenas cupiditates." That there may have been a subsidiary influence of Boethius is possible. For in Book III, prose xii, 5-9 occurs the following, in Chaucer's translation: "whan I loste my memorie by the contagious conjunccioun of the body with the soule; and eftsones afterward, whan I loste it, confounded by the charge and by the burdene of my sorwe." The Latin text is: "Primum, quod memoriam corporea contagione, dehinc cum moeroris mole pressus, amisit." But the other specific correspondences are wanting.

On this famous passage in the *Aeneid*, however, there is a comment which it is hard to believe that Chaucer did not know. Servius' remarkable discussion of *Aen.*, VI, 724 is primarily concerned with the "contagion of the body": "ita ergo et *animus quamdiu est in corpore, patitur eius contagiones.*"¹ And the precise phrase appears in the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 719: "*credendum est animas corporis contagione pollutas ad caelum reverti?*"² A few lines before, in the account of the descent of the soul through the several circles, occurs a list of the "false affections" that trouble the soul: "*quia cum descendunt animae trahunt secum torporem Saturni, Martis iracundiam, libidinem Veneris, Mercurii lucri cupiditatem, Jovis regni desiderium: quae res faciunt perturbationem animabus, ne possint uti vigore suo et viribus propriis.*"³ And the "soul in prison" also appears: "*non est verisimile, [animas] liberatas de corporis carcere ad eius nexum reverti.*"⁴

But did Chaucer know the passage in Servius? There is some reason to believe that he did. In the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 724 from which I have already quoted, Servius is discussing the question: "*et qua ratione res melior est in potestate deterioris?*"—the fundamental problem, of course, of the "contagion of the body." For, as he continues, "*atqui divinus animus debuit corpus habere in potestate, non mortale corpus naturam animi corrumpere. sed hoc ideo fit, quia plus est quod continet, quam quod continetur.*"⁵ And he gives two illustrations. First: "*ut si leonem includas in caveam, ineditus vim suam non perdit, sed exercere non potest, ita animus non transit in vitia corporis, sed eius coniunctione ineditur nec exercet vim suam.*"⁶ It is the second illustration that is for us significant:

videmus enim tale aliquid, ut in *lucerna*, quae per se clara est et locum, in quo est, sine dubio inluminat, sed si qua re tecta fuerit et inclusa, non perdit splendorem proprium, qui in ea est—remoto namque impedimento apparet—

¹ *Servii Grammatici qui feruntur in Vergilii Carmina Commentarii*, ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 101, ll. 19-21.

² Ed. Thilo and Hagen, II, 99, ll. 9-10. Compare: "*animus . . . laborat ex corporis coniunctione*" (II, 101, l. 13), and especially the comment on *Aen.*, VI, 733: "*Hinc metuant cupiuntque dolent gaudentque ex corporis coniunctione et hebetudine*" (II, 103, ll. 10-11).

³ II, 98, ll. 21-24.

⁴ II, 97, ll. 1-2.

⁵ II, 101, ll. 3-6.

⁶ Ll. 6-9.

nec tamen quia ineditus est eius vigor, ideo etiam corruptus. ita ergo et animus quamdiu est in corpore, patitur eius contagiones; simul atque deposuerit corpus, recipit suum vigorem et *natura utitur propria*.¹

But that is the Wife of Bath!

Tak fyr, and ber it in the derkeste hous
Bitwix this and the mount of Caucasus,
And lat men shette the dores and go thenne;
Yet wol the fyr as faire lye and brenne,
As twenty thousand men mighte it biholde;
His office naturel ay wol it holde,
Up peril of my lyf, til that it dye.²

Chaucer is here, as Skeat points out, also drawing on Boethius:³

Certes, yif that honour of poeple were a naturel yift to dignitees, it ne mighte never cesen nowher amonges no maner folk to don his office, right as fyr in every contree ne stinteth nat to eschaufen and to ben hoot.

There is, too, a very similar passage in Macrobius: "ignis, cuius essentiae calor inest, calere non desinit."⁴ But the figure of the fire (or candle) as "*tecta . . . et inclusa*" ("in the derkeste hous," "lat men shette the dores"), and the employment of the idea of "*splendorem*" ("as faire lye and brenne") for that of "*calere*" ("to eschaufen and to ben hot")⁵ point strongly to the influence of Servius, or of Servius' source. It is very possible that Chaucer's context in the *Wife of Bath's Tale*⁶ suggested to him the passage in Boethius, and that this in turn recalled to him the more definite figure in Servius. That, at least, is the sort of thing which Chaucer constantly does. And both Servius and Boethius seem to be there.

If this be so (to return to the Second Nun's Prologue), Chaucer may also have recalled the remarkable comment of Servius as he composed his appeal to the Virgin. That, however, it is by no means *necessary* to suppose. The passage is explicable without it. And the details that are (most of them) included in a single sentence

¹ LL 15-21.

² D, 1139-45.

³ Book III, prose iv, 71 ff.: "Atqui si hoc naturale munus dignitatibus foret, ab officio suo quoque gentium nullo modo cessarent: sicut ignis ubique terrarum, numquam tamen calere desistit."

⁴ *Comm. in Somn. Scip.*, II, xvi, 6.

⁵ There is also a hint of Servius' "*natura utitur propria*" in Chaucer's "His office naturel ay wol it holde." But compare Boethius' "*ab officio suo*" ("to don his office").

⁶ He is drawing heavily on Dante's *Convivio*, both in what precedes, and in what follows. See Lowes, *Med. Phil.*, XIII, 19-33.

in Macrobius are scattered in Servius through several pages. Macrobius is pretty certainly the primary source. But both are comments on lines with which Chaucer was familiar. And it is possible that he had them both in mind when he wrote the Invocation. "*Troubled . . . by the wighte,*" for instance, seems to represent the "*perturbationem*" of Servius and the "*pondere*" of Macrobius. So that here once more we are possibly justified in recognizing a convergence of influences.

But we have not yet exhausted the complexities of the problem. For the lines which I have quoted from Macrobius and Servius both appear in Albericus—the third of the mythographers published by Bode.¹ There are, of course, minor variants in the phraseology, but none of them affect the problem, so far as Chaucer is concerned.²

The sources of Albericus are discussed and exhaustively set forth by Raschke.³ According to him, the *fontes primarii* are Fulgentius, Servius, Macrobius, Martianus Capella, and Remigius of Auxerre.⁴ But it is also possible, as Professor Rand points out to me, that "Albericus drew not from Macrobius *plus* Servius, but directly from Donatus, who is also the source of Servius and Macrobius independently."⁵ Of course Albericus may have found Donatus

¹ The passage from Macrobius is in Mythogr. III, vi, 8 (Bode, *Scriptores Rerum Mythicarum*, p. 178); that from Servius in Mythogr. III, vi, 11 (Bode, p. 180). Both occur in the long chapter on Pluto.

² Albericus' text of the passage from Macrobius varies so slightly from the text as given above that it is unnecessary to quote it. See, for the chief variant, Raschke (below), p. 45, n. Albericus' text for the *lucerna* passage from Servius is as follows:

"Videmus enim tale aliquid in lucerna, quae per se clara est, et locum, in quo est, sine dubio illuminat. Quae si quando retracta [quae si resecta: cod. M. See Raschke (below), p. 47, n.] fuerit et inclusa, locum quidam illuminare desinit, splendorem autem proprium non amittit. Remoto namque impedimento, apparet. Nec fulgor eius quamvis impeditus, ideo etiam est corruptus. Ita ergo animus, inquit, quamdiu est in corpore, simul eius patitur contagionem. At cum corpus deposuerit, antiquum recipit vigorem, et natura utitur propria" (Bode, p. 180).

In the next chapter (III, vi, 12) where Servius (II, 101, ll. 26–27) reads: "sic anima ex eo quod datur corpori inquinata," etc., Albericus has: "sic et animam, adhuc corporis contagione inquinatam," etc.

³ "De Alberico Mythologo," *Breslauer Philologische Abhandlungen* (1913), 45. Heft. I am indebted for this reference to Professor E. K. Rand, to whom I appealed for aid when I turned up the passages in Bode.

⁴ Raschke, pp. 2–7. For the secondary sources see pp. 7–10. For Albericus' date (tenth or eleventh century) see p. 11. The two passages under discussion are found on pp. 45 and 47. In cap. vi (Pluto) in which they occur, Macrobius is specifically mentioned twice (III, vi, 6, 9), and Servius ten times (III, vi, 17, 18, 19, 20, 23, 24, 25, 26, 30, 32).

⁵ See Rand, *Classical Quarterly*, X (July, 1916), 158–64: "Is Donatus's Commentary on Virgil Lost?"

already excerpted by Johannes Scottus¹ or Remigius." The question, accordingly, arises: Did Chaucer draw on Macrobius (and perhaps Servius) directly, or did he find both passages brought together in Albericus,² or did he meet with them in Remigius, or Johannes, or even in Donatus? The question is perhaps impossible to answer. At all events, the problem is too large and complex to enter upon here.³

So far as the Second Nun's Prologue alone is concerned, however, I do not believe that the matter is as complex as it seems. We know that Chaucer knew Macrobius,⁴ so that for the Second Nun's lines it is unnecessary to fall back upon either Albericus or the common source of Albericus and Macrobius. For the passage from Macrobius, as I have said, is in itself sufficient to account for Chaucer's lines. And Chaucer may very well have known Servius too.⁵ As for the fact that the source of the lines in the Second Nun's Prologue and the partial source of the lines in the *Wife of Bath's Tale* occur together in Albericus, that should not carry us off our feet. If Chaucer knew both Macrobius (as he did) and Servius (as he may have done), the facts are accounted for, and the occurrence together of the two passages in Albericus becomes, so far as Chaucer is concerned, an accident. And that is at least as possible as the other view.

¹ On John the Scot, and Remigius as commentator, see Rand, "Johannes Scottus," *Quellen und Untersuchungen zur lat. Philologie des Mittelalters* (Munich, 1906).

² Albericus is extant in four Vatican manuscripts, to which Bode (p. xix) adds three more, at Göttingen, Gotha, and Paris. See Raschke, p. 12. Jacobs (*Zeitschrift f. Alterthumswissenschaft*, 1834, pp. 1054 ff.) gives an account of one more, at Breslau. Skeat has pointed out (*Oxford Chaucer*, V, 78, 82) indications of Chaucer's use, in his descriptions of Venus and Mars, of Albericus' *De deorum imaginibus libelli*. But here again it is entirely possible that Chaucer may be following Albericus' sources. And for that part of his account of Mars which Chaucer uses, Albericus draws on Servius and Martianus Capella (Raschke, p. 140); for his account of Venus, he uses Remigius, Fulgentius, and Servius (Raschke, p. 142). In both cases there remains the possibility that Albericus is employing the common source of all of these—and this, again, may have been known to Chaucer. I hope later to carry this investigation farther. Meantime, it seems worth while to give the facts, so far as they appear.

³ It serves, however, to emphasize the importance of thorough consideration of Chaucer's knowledge of the mediaeval commentators and mythographers. I have already had something to say about this in *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 726-27.

⁴ See references in Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, pp. 98-99; Skeat, *Oxford Chaucer*, VI, 387.

⁵ His knowledge of him is no more unlikely than Dante's, and Dante pretty certainly knew him. See Moore, *Studies in Dante*, I, 189-91, and index; Rand, *Thirty-third Annual Report of the Dante Society* (1916).

On the whole, then, waiving for the present the *Wife of Bath's Tale*, the chances are in favor of Chaucer's direct recollection of Macrobius as the source of the lines about "the contagioun of the body." If that be so, it may be added that the inclusion of Macrobius and Alanus in the *cento* places the Invocation—without entering into the problem of the rest of the Prologue and the *Lyf* itself—in close relation to the *Parlement* and the *Hous of Fame*. In each we find the same combination of Dante,¹ Alanus, and Macrobius. Beyond that obvious remark I do not care to go at present.

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¹ In *Mod. Phil.*, XIV, 708-9, I have shown that Chaucer used the *Paradiso* in the *Parlement*—a fact which has apparently been doubted before. See Hammond, *Chaucer: A Bibliographical Manual*, p. 82.

WALTER MAP AND SER GIOVANNI

Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium* contains only one story which has been claimed as the source of a later piece of mediaeval fiction. A peculiar interest naturally attaches to that story, *De Rollone et eius uxore*, which is found in *Distinctio III*, cap. v, of Map's book.¹ This interest is heightened as a consequence of proof, which I have recently advanced,² that the *De Nugis* was never really completed and published by its author, but survives, in a unique manuscript, only by a lucky chance. It is therefore fitting to scan the evidence of Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's indebtedness to Walter Map. Map's story runs as follows:

Rollo, a man of high reputation for knightly virtues, was blest in possession of a most fair wife and in perfect freedom from jealousy. A youth named Resus, who in comeliness, birth, and all other respects surpassed the other youths of the neighborhood, languished for love of Rollo's wife, but received no encouragement from her. He tearfully admitted to himself his inferiority to the peerless Rollo, but, sustained by his high spirit, he resolved to merit his lady's favor. From Rollo himself he obtained the belt of knighthood, and with unfailing gallantry he proceeded to win martial honors for his name. He won favor from all except the lady whom he adored.

It happened one day that Resus met Rollo and his wife out riding. Rollo greeted him courteously, and the young man, turning his horse, for a while escorted his lord and lady. Then, saluting them with becoming words, he departed. The lady maintained a cool indifference, but Rollo looked after the departing youth for a long time, then turned his gaze ahead and rode on in silence. His wife, fearing his suspicions, asked why he looked so intently at one who was not regarding him; and Rollo replied: "I like to look at him. Would that I might ever behold that most noble spectacle of the world, a man graced in birth, manners, beauty, riches, honor, and the favor of all."

The lady took this praise to heart. Though she dissembled her interest, she pondered over Rollo's encomium, reflecting that he was an excellent judge of men. What she had heard of Resus must be credited. She began to

¹ Walter Map, *De Nugis Curialium* (ed. M. R. James, Oxford, 1914), pp. 135-37. In this book occurs also, of course, the *Epistle of Valerius to Rufinus*, which was widely known in the Middle Ages, but attained its circulation separately from the *De Nugis*.

² "Walter Map's *De Nugis Curialium*: Its Plan and Composition," in *PMLA*, XXXII (1917), 81.

repent of her severity, and in due time she summoned Resus. He came with alacrity, astonished but happy, and was received by his lady in a private chamber. She said: "Perhaps you wonder, dearest, after so many cruel refusals, what has so suddenly given me to you. Rollo is the cause, for I had not heeded common report, but the assertion of him whom I know to be trustworthy has convinced me." With these words she drew Resus to her; but he, putting a curb on his passionate impulses, replied: "Never shall Resus return Rollo an injury for a favor; discourteous it would be for me to violate his bed, since he has conferred what all the world could not." And so he departed.

Liebrecht was the first to point out that this story is the same as the first *novella* in Ser Giovanni Fiorentino's *Il Pecorone*, which Dunlop had praised as "one of the most beautiful triumphs of honor which has ever been recorded."¹ Liebrecht's opinion as to the relations of the two stories altered somewhat. Originally (1860) he pronounced *Rollo and Resus* either "the direct or indirect source" of the *novella*,² but later, when he revised his article for his volume *Zur Volkskunde* (1879), he declared unequivocally that Map presents the "direct source."³ Before discussing Liebrecht's opinion we must examine Ser Giovanni's *novella*.⁴

There was in Siena a youth named Galgano, rich, of noted family, skilled in every accomplishment, brave, magnanimous, beloved of all. He loved a lady named Minoccia, the wife of Messere Stricca. Galgano endeavored by jousting and by entertainments to gain this lady's favor, but in vain. One day, while Stricca and his wife were at their country place, Galgano went hawking near by. Stricca saw him and invited him in, but the youth reluctantly declined. Soon afterward his falcon pursued a bird into the garden of Messere Stricca, who happened to be looking out, his wife with him. She asked to whom the falcon belonged, and he replied: "The falcon has a master whom it may well emulate, for it belongs to the most noble and esteemed youth of Siena," and, in response to further inquiry, he named Galgano.

Minoccia was impressed, and soon afterward, when Stricca was sent on an embassy to Perugia, she sent for Galgano. He came, was entertained, and at last was taken to the lady's chamber. There, however, Minoccia noticed an appearance of timidity in Galgano, and asked him if he were not

¹ J. C. Dunlop, *Geschichte der Prosadichtungen* (trans. F. Liebrecht, Berlin, 1851), p. 259; J. C. Dunlop, *History of Prose Fiction* (ed. Henry Wilson, London, 1896), II, 157.

² F. Liebrecht, "Zu den Nugae Curialium," in Pfeiffer's *Germania*, V.

³ F. Liebrecht, *Zur Volkskunde* (Heilbronn, 1879), pp. 43-45.

⁴ Ser Giovanni Fiorentino, *Il Pecorone* (Milan, 1804), I, 1; Dunlop-Wilson, *History of Prose Fiction*, pp. 157-59. The collection was begun in 1378.

well pleased. He swore that he was, but begged one request: that she would tell him why her behavior had changed so suddenly. Minoccia recalled the falcon incident and her husband's praises. Galgano implored her for another reason, and, receiving none, he exclaimed: "Truly, it is not pleasing to God, nor would I, since your husband has said such courtesy of me, that I should use villainy toward him." So saying, he took his departure. Never again did he pay any attention to the lady, and he always manifested a singular love and esteem for Messere Stricca.

Certainly the stories of Map and of Ser Giovanni are strikingly alike, not only in theme, but in detail. It is not surprising that Liebrecht's theory of their relation met with no opposition. Egidio Gorra, in his study of *Il Pecorone*,¹ quotes Liebrecht's original opinion with approval, but adds that it is important to determine whether the *De Nugis Curialium* affords Ser Giovanni's direct or indirect source. The theme, he says, was widespread in the Middle Ages, and he cites as similar the *Lai de Graelent*² and the story of the troubadour, Guillem de Saint-Didier.³

With regard to these two stories, of Graelent and of Guillem, I must disagree with Gorra. The point of the Resus-Galgano story is the magnanimous renunciation of a woman, passionately loved and, after a long suit, won, by a hero who is actuated solely by a sense of chivalrous indebtedness to her husband for unwittingly causing his wife's submission. Graelent, on the other hand, had no long-fostered passion to contend with, and it was not the husband's, but the general, praise that won for him the lady's love; Graelent refused her, as Joseph refused Potiphar's wife, or as Map's Galo refused the Queen of Asia,⁴ because his loyalty to his master was proof against illicit love for his master's wife. Guillem is still farther removed from the high sense of honor manifest in Resus and Galgano, since he deliberately contrived a trap⁵ for the husband so that, willing or unwilling, the wife must grant his suit. This motive is nearer akin to that of Chaucer's *Franklin's Tale* and of the fifth novel of the

¹ Egidio Gorra, *Studi di critica letteraria* (Bologna, 1892), pp. 201-8.

² Barbazan-Méon, *Fabliaux et contes* (Paris, 1808), IV, 57-80.

³ F. Diez, *Leben und Werke der Troubadours* (ed. K. Bartsch, Leipzig, 1882), pp. 261-63.

⁴ *De Nugis Curialium*, Dist. III, cap. ii, pp. 104-22.

⁵ In this respect the story is like one in the *Hitopadesa* (I, vii), which Gorra recognizes as different from Ser Giovanni's.

tenth day of the *Decameron*,¹ in which the lover plots to fulfil a supposedly impossible condition set by the lady purely in hope of ridding herself of unwelcome attentions; the lady yields a debt of honor. There may be held to exist a balance of merit; there is not a single outstanding hero, such as Resus or Galgano. The compact between the wife and the lover gives a different shape to motivation, character, and incident.²

Gorra, however, passes lightly over this matter of analogues to a genuine contribution on the relation of Map's and Ser Giovanni's tales. A century after Ser Giovanni, Masuccio Salernitano retells in his collection, *Il Novellino*, the story of Map and of the Florentine. According to custom, Masuccio declares that his story is true; he had heard it a few days before concerning Bertramo d'Aquino, a cavalier of the family of Madonna Antonella d'Aquino, Contessa Camerlinga, to whom he addresses the story.³ *Il Novellino* was first published at Naples in 1476 and is thought to have been written not long before that date.⁴ Bertramo d'Aquino, Masuccio says, was a follower of Charles of Anjou, who triumphantly entered Naples after the defeat of Manfred at Benevento, 1266 A.D. Not much importance need be attached to Masuccio's assertion that he had just learned of this story.⁵

Bertramo, who was prudent and valiant above all others in King Charles' army, joined the other victors in the gayeties of Neapolitan society. There he met the beautiful Madonna Fiola Torella, wife of Messer Corrado, a fellow-soldier and dear friend of Bertramo. He endeavored by his jousting and entertainments to win the lady's admiration and favor, but without

¹ Jacob Ulrich (*Ausgewählte Novellen Sacchettis, Ser Giovanni's, und Sercambis in Italienische Bibliothek* [Leipzig, 1891], p. xvi) refers to *Decameron*, X, v, as an analogue of *Il Pecorone*, I, i.

² The husband's resignation of the wife, wittingly and without obligation of honor, is still a different motive. Koegel (*Geschichte der deutschen Literatur* [Strassburg, 1894-97], I, 258) errs in connecting Lantfrid and Cobbo with Map's story.

³ Masuccio Salernitano, *Il Novellino* (ed. L. Settembrini, Napoli, 1874), pp. 243-44, 536. On these protestations cf. Gaetano Amalfi, "Quellen und Parallelen zum *Novellino* des Salernitaners Masuccio" in *Zeitschrift des Vereins für Volkskunde*, X, 33 ff.; the study is concluded at pp. 136 ff.

⁴ *Il Novellino*, p. xxxiii.

⁵ *Il Novellino*, Part III, nov. 1 (the twenty-first novel of the collection). Amalfi (*loc. cit.*) says that this novella was retold in the seventeenth-century collection of the *Accademici Incogniti*, of whom Gian Francesco Loredano was chief (cf. Weese and Percopo, *Gesch. d. ital. Lit.*, p. 451), and also by Adolfo Albertazzi (*Liberalità di Messer Bertrando d'Aquino*) in his *Parvense e sembianze* (Bologna, 1892), and by Saint-Denis in *Comptes du monde aventureux* (nouv. xxxviii). Of these I have seen only the last; it is certainly derived from Masuccio.

avail; from honesty or from real love for her husband she crushed her lover's hopes. One day Messer Corrado, Fiola, and other knights and ladies, while hawking, beheld a wild falcon flush a covey of partridges and scatter them. Messer Corrado exclaimed that he fancied he was beholding his captain, Messer Bertramo, dispersing their enemies in battle; unaware of Bertramo's love for Fiola, he ran on and on with brave tales of the captain's exploits until all were charmed with admiration, Fiola not less than the others.

Soon after, Bertramo, passing her house, was greeted with a salutation so gracious that he sought out a friend to solve for him the riddle of woman's ways. His friend cynically lectured him on the fickleness and frailty of women and bade him write at once for a rendezvous. Bertramo obeyed and was duly received in Fiola's garden; after a time he and Fiola were conducted by a trusted maid into a *camera terrena*, where all was prepared for their enjoyment. In the course of their conversation Bertramo curiously inquired why Fiola had softened toward him. She related at length the falcon incident, her husband's eulogy, and its influence. Bertramo responded in a long antistrophe on the fine points of a gentle nature, leading up to the avowal: "It is not pleasing to God that such villainy should appear in a cavalier of Aquino." Thereupon he renounced Fiola in another lengthy speech, cast jewels in her lap, bade her remember the lesson of his experience, kissed her tenderly, and departed. Fiola was somewhat dazed at this fine oration and not a little piqued at her lover's departure, but, actuated by woman's instinctive avarice, she gathered the jewels and returned to her house. The story, Masuccio says, leaked out, much to the credit of Bertramo among his fellows.

To Masuccio this tale is an example of feminine weakness rather than of masculine honor. It is the first *novella* of the third part, "nella quale il defettivo muliebre sesso sarà in parte crucciato," and is connected with the next *novella* by a link in which the author diverts attention from Bertramo to the woman. Masuccio adds the confidant of the hero, a figure which does not appear in the *De Nugis* nor in *Il Pecorone*, and thus complicates the plot slightly, making Bertramo write before Fiola summons him. I have no doubt that Masuccio himself, not his source, is responsible for this alteration; he doubtless wished merely to get a pretext for working in a cynical harangue against women.

Gorra thinks that Masuccio is not dependent on Ser Giovanni, first, because of divergences in the handling of the plot, and secondly, because *Il Pecorone* had not been printed in Masuccio's time, and, Gorra thinks, it is unlikely that Masuccio had seen a manuscript of

it. There is, however, a significant point which the *novelle* have in common, but which is wanting in Map's version: the falcon incident. Because of this, Gorra holds that Map does not present the direct source of the Italian versions, though he may present a more remote source. Gorra could go no farther with safety unless a version with the falcon incident should be discovered.

Such a version I have found. Giraldus Cambrensis, in his *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, relates the following story:¹

There was in France an excellent knight, Reginald de Pumpuna,² who, in a land where so many good knights were to be found, was incomparable in valor. For a long time he loved the wife of a certain knight, but never won any favor from her until one day her husband, on returning from a tournament which had been held near-by, fell to conversing with his comrades on the victors of the day. All agreed in praising Reginald above all others, whereupon the lady asked her husband if such praise was truly deserved. He replied: "Even so, for as doves flee before a falcon, so before Reginald all knights flee." By this praise the lady was overcome. Very soon her husband's absence gave her an opportunity, and she sent for her lover. He came, but before surrendering himself to her embraces he asked how it came to pass that she, who had been so long obdurate, now offered him that unexpected pleasure. She told him of her husband's praises, and Reginald exclaimed that he too would change his mind because of the same praises, and would never again love her in injury to the one who had pronounced them.

The *Gemma Ecclesiastica* was one of the proudest works of Giraldus Cambrensis. He presented a copy of it to Pope Innocent III, who, according to Giraldus, valued it so highly and was so jealous of its safe-keeping that he would let no one else read it.³ We need not imagine, however, that Innocent's successors were all equally fond of the Welshman's work, and we may safely assume that, in the course of time, the book was accessible to Italian clerks.

¹ *Gemma Ecclesiastica*, II, xli, in *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, Rolls Series, II, 226-28.

² It is interesting to identify this knight. A letter from Henry, Count of Champagne, to Suger, Abbot of Saint-Denis, written in the year 1149, concerns a knight who had been captured in a tournament by "Reginald de Pompona" (Bouquet, *Recueil des Historiens des Gaules et de la France*, XV, 511). Among those who swear to a compact between the king of France and the count of Mellent, "Reginald de Pompona" stands second on the part of the count, just above William de Garlande (Bouquet, *Recueil*, XVI, 16).

³ See Brewer's preface to *Giraldi Cambrensis Opera*, II, ix-x. The Lambeth manuscript contains the only known copy of the *Gemma Ecclesiastica*; it is surmised that this may be the pope's copy, or that Gerald's gift may still repose in the Vatican.

Thus we find a possible source, more or less direct, for the *novelle* of Ser Giovanni and Masuccio—a source which contains the falcon simile, and which, we know, was within reach of Italian story-tellers. It may be noted that, in addition to the falcon simile, these three versions agree against Map's in making the lover inquire why the lady has softened toward him, and also in representing the lover as a man of secure reputation at the time when he falls in love. The effect of Map's story is intensified by the representation of Resus' love as the one motive of his life. In humility he realized that a nameless lad was not a worthy rival for the noble Rollo, and therefore he devoted himself to becoming a peerless knight in all the excellences of the chivalric ideal; when he had attained his desire, he found that chivalric honor prohibited him from accepting the prize for which alone he had striven.

If the story of Reginald de Pumpuna were not more like the two *novelle* than is the story of Resus, it would still be a more likely source for them, for we can account for its presence in Italy. The only positive ground for supposing that the *De Nugis Curialium* was so widely circulated, or indeed was circulated at all, has been Liebrecht's theory that it contains the source of Ser Giovanni's *novella*. It is needless to accept that theory any longer.

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VERSES ON THE NINE WORTHIES

Professor Gollancz' edition of the *Parlement of the Thre Ages*, published in 1915, contains an appendix consisting of early texts illustrative of the Nine Worthies theme. These texts, written in Latin, French, German, and English, show the wide dispersion of the theme in literature. My researches have brought to my attention a number of others, dating from the fourteenth and fifteenth centuries, some of which afford interesting comparisons with those published by Gollancz.

I

The first is written in a hand of about 1380 in a manuscript of the Vulgate about a century older, prepared for, and doubtless used in, Sweetheart Abbey in Kirkcudbright.¹ The lines, which present a variant of those numbered as XVII and XVIII in Gollancz' appendix, and show the same Scotch tradition of Robert Bruce as the tenth Worthy that we meet in the *Ballet of the Nine Nobles*, numbered X by Gollancz, run as follows:

Ector, Alexander, Julius, Josue, David, Machabeus,
Arthurus, Carulus, et postremus Godofrydus—
Robertus rex Scotorum denus est in numero meliorum.

II

The next is a set of stanzas which accompanies mural paintings of the Nine Worthies in the castle of La Manta in Piedmont.² The paintings were executed between 1411 and 1430. The verses are interesting, first, as showing a clear dependence upon the very earliest authoritative treatment of the Nine Worthies in literature, the passage from the *Vœux du Paon* of Jacques de Longuyon, which is given by Gollancz as VI; and, in the second place, as showing a version in Italianized French of the stanzas on the woodblock of

¹ Bernard Quaritch, *Catalogue No. 196*, p. 299.

² P. D'Ancona, "Gli affreschi del castello di Manta," *L'Arte*, 1905, p. 195.

1454-57, given by Gollancz as XIV.¹ The text is given by D'Ancona as follows:²

- Ector Je fui de Troie nee et fis du roy Priam,
 E fuy qant Menelas e la gregoise gans
 Vindrer asegier Troie a cumpagne grant;
 La ocige XXX rois et des autres bien CCC:
 Puis moy ocist Achilles ases vilainemant
 Devant que Diu nasquit XL.CXXX ans.
- Alisandre Jay coquis por ma force les illes d'outramer;
 D'Orient jusques a Ocident fuge ja sire apeles.
 Jay tue roy Daire, Porus, Nicole larmires;³
 La grant Babiloina fige ver moy encliner;
 E fuy sire du monde; puis fui enarbres:
 Ce fut III.C ans devant que Diu fut nee.
- Julius
 Cesar D Rome fuge jadis enperere et roy;
 Jay conquis tote Spagne, France, e Navaroys;
 Ponpe, Amunsorage, e Casahilion li roy;
 La cite d'Alisandra amim somis voloyr:⁴
 Mort fui devant que Diu nasquit des ans XL trois.
- Josuee Des enfans d'Irael fuge fort ames,
 Qant Diu fist pour miracle li solegl arester,
 Le flin Jordam partir a pasaie la roge mer;
 Le Filistins ne purent contra moy endurer:
 Je ocis XXXII roy: puis moy fenir,
 XIIII.C ans devant que Diu fust nee.
- Roy Davit Je trovay son de harpa e de sauterion;
 Si ay tue Gulias, un grant gehant felon;
 En meintes batagles moy tient-on a prodons:
 Apres li roy Saul tien je la region;
 Et fui vray propheta de lancarnacion:
 Mort fui VIII.C ans devant que Diu devenist hons.

¹ There are certain errors in Gollancz' printing of these stanzas, as may be seen by comparing it with Pillinski's reproduction of the woodcuts in his *Monuments de la Xylographie, Les Neuf Preus*. Gollancz' errors are as follows: The title *Hector de Troie* should read *Troie*; and in the first line following, *poisir* should read *pooir*. The second title should read *Alizandre*; and in the fourth line below, *pris* should read *os*. The fifth title should read *Le Roy David*. In the sixth stanza, l. 4, *le* should read *se*. In the seventh, l. 3, *grant* should read *grand*; and in l. 5 *g(ue)re* should read *gerre* (cf. *gerrier* in the next stanza). The eighth title should read *Charle le Grand*.

² D'Ancona has emended the text, but gives the original reading in his notes.

³ In the margin the painter of the legends supplied glosses describing *Daire* as *li Persian* and *Porus* as *li Endian*.

⁴ D'Ancona suggests that this is a corruption of *soumis a mon voloyr*.

- Judas Je viens en Jerusalem, en la grant region,
 Makabeus E la loy Moises metre a defension;
 Ceous qui adorent les idoles, mecreants e felons,
 mige a destrucion;
 Econtra heus men alay a pou de compagnons;
 E mory VC ans devant licarnacion.
- Roy Artus Je fui roy de Bertagne, d'Escosa e d'Anglatere;
 Cinquanta roy conquis qui de moy tiegnen terre;
 Jay tue VII grans Jehans rustons en mi lour terre;
 Sus le munt Saint Michel un autre nalay conquere;
 Vis le Seint Greal; puis moy fist Mordre goere;
 Qui moy ocist V.C ans puis que Diu vint en tere.
- Charlemaine Je fui roy, emperaire, e fuy nee de France;
 Jay aquis tote Espagne e in us la creance;
 Namont e Agolant ocige sans dotance;
 Le Senes descunfis e l'Armireau de Valence.
 En Jerusalem remige la creance,
 E mors fuy V.C. ans apres Diu sans dotance.
- Godefroy Je fuy Dus de Lorraine apres mes ancesours,
 de Bouglon E si tien de Bouglon le palais e le tours;
 Au plain de Romania jay conquis les Mersours:
 Li roy Corbaran ocige a force e a stours;
 Jerusalem conquige au retours,
 E mori XIC ans apres Nostre Segnour.

III

Another version of these stanzas is found on the fragmentary woodcuts of the Hotel de Ville at Metz.¹ These according to Pilinski date from before 1460, and they show some dialectal forms of Lorraine.

- (Joshua) Des enfans disrael fuge forment ameis
 Quant dieus fit par miracle le solail aresteir
 Le fleune iordan p(ar)tir & passay rouge meir
 Les mescreans ne peurent contre moy dureir
 De XXXII royalmes fige les roys tueir
 XIII^e. ans deuant que die- fut- ne-

¹ Reproduced by Pilinski, *Monuments de la Xylographie, Les Neuf Preuz*.

- (David) Ie trouuay son de harpe & de psalteriu-
 Et golias tuay le grant gayant fel-
 En pluseurs grans batailles me tint on-
 Et apres le roy saul ie tins la regio-
 Et si propheti . . . lanuntia-
- (Godfrey) -e fus duc de lorraine apres mes ancessours
 -t si tins de boullon les palais & les tours
 -n plain de comeine desconfis lamassour
 -e roy cornemarent occis par fort atour
 -herusalem conquis antioche au retour
 -s fus .XII^e. apres nostre se-

IV

The next treatment of the Nine Worthies is a Latin description by Antonio d'Asti of the statues of these heroes in the great hall of Coucy, written in 1451.¹ Bertrand du Guesclin here makes a tenth Worthy.

Adde novem veterum fama praestante virorum,
 Nomen apud Gallos clarae probitatis habentum,
 Illic compositas ex petra albente figuras.
 Ex quibus existunt Judea ab origine nati
 Tres domini: Josue, Judas Machabaeus, et ipse
 David; tres autem gentilis sanguinis: Hector
 Trojanus, Caesar Romanus Jullius, atque
 Magnus Alexander; tres vero Regis Olimpi,
 Qui fuit ob nostram passus tormenta salutem,
 Excoluere fidem, certe meliora secuti:
 Arturus rex, et rex Magnus Karolus, atque
 Is qui pro Christo postremus subdidit urbem
 Jerusalem, aeterno Gothofredus nomine dignus.
 Addidit his genitor nostri hujus principis, heros
 Summae virtutis, Lodoycus, munera longe
 Promeritus famae, qui non mediocriter auxit
 Hoc castrum, decimam Gallorum ex gente figuram
 Militis insignis Claschina, prole Britannia
 Nati, Bertrandi, quo nullus major in armis
 Tempestate sua fuit, aut praestantior omni
 Virtute, et tota fama praeclarius orbe.

¹ Le Roux de Lincy, *Paris et ses Historiens*, p. 558.

V

The fifth example occurs on a series of copper engravings, made in 1464 by an anonymous artist known as the Meister mit den Bandrollen, of which sets are to be found in the British Museum and the library of Bamberg.¹ The verses, which reflect rather unfavorably on the composer's latinity, run as follows:

Hector de troya	Hector de troya priamis filius fuit de ix paribus unus apud troyam fuit occisus ab archille ut legimus xic annis lxx uter pars minus antequam xps fuit natus
Rex alexander	Secundus fuit alexander vocatus qui de macedonia fuit natus in paradiso — tributum sicut continet historia scriptum tre centis annis obiit prius in babilonia quam nasceretur xps
Julius cesar rex	Julius cesar tercius vocatur per quam terra magna acquiratur in babilona & italia ipse possedit cum potencia de satis fuit vexatus xlii annis antequam xps fuit natus
nobilis Iosue	(Inscription imperfect)
rex dauid	Quintus dauid vocabatur vere illustris rex coronabatur goliath fuit ab eo interfectus a deo fuit dauid electus obiit ut legimus mille annis ante datum xpi incarnationis

¹ Described by Dodgson, *Catalogue of German and Flemish Prints in the British Museum*, II, 150 ff.

Judas
machabeus

Sextus fuit vero iudeus
et vocabatur iudas machabeus
muchonorum ipse necavit
de hoc seculo migravit
centum & quadraginta duo annis
ante datum xpi incarnationis

Artur
rex

Artur fuit in ordine primus
christianorum et rex nobilissimus
draconem ipse occidit
Et per xpo penas habuit
post mortem xpi vc et xlv annis
abiit artur rex illustris

Karolus
rex

Karolus rex et imperator
fuit sanctus et dominator
per ytaliam & almaneam
per friseam & hispaniam
aquis gracie obiit nobilis
post mortem xpi viiic et xlv annis

gotfridus
de bulion

gotfridus de bulion fuit tercius
et paganis multum durus
jhrem subiugavit et locum sanctum
coronam spineam portavit tantum
veneno ipse fuit toscicatus
post mortem xpi xic annis

VI

The sixth is found in MS Harley 2259, fol. 39v, at the British Museum, and has been published by Furnivall in *Notes and Queries*.¹ As this text is so easily accessible, I print here only the first of the nine stanzas.

ix^e worthy

Troie.

Ector, miles paganus, &
ante incarnationem.

he b(ere) asure ij lyons rampant
combataunt or, enarmyd goules.

Ector, that was off alle knyghtes flowre,
whyche euer gate hym' with hys hond honour,
vnware, of achylles full of envye,
was slayn': alas, that euer shuld he deye!

¹ Series VII, Vol. VIII, p. 22.

VII

In the Coventry Leet Book an account is given of the entertainment of Queen Margaret, in 1455, and on this occasion the Nine Worthies figured among the spectacles, each of them delivering a speech of welcome.¹

Afturward betwix the seyde crosse & the cundit beneþe that were sette ix pagentes well arayed & yn every pagent was shewed a speche of the ix conqueroures yn the furst was shewed of Hector as foloweth

HECTOR Most pleasaunt princes recordid þat may be
I hector of troy þat am chefe conquerour
lowly wyll obey yowe & knele on my kne
and welcom yowe tendurly to your honoure
to this conabull citie the princes chaumber
whome ye bare yn youre bosom joy to þis lande
thro whome in prosperite þis empyre shall stand

In the secunde pagent was shewed a speche of Alexander as foloweth

ALEX I alexander þat for chyvalry berithe þe balle
Most curious in conquest thro þe world am y named
Welcum yowe princes as quene principall
but I hayls you right hendly I wer wurthy to be blamyd
The noblest prince þat is born whome fortune hath famyd
is your sovereyn lorde herry emperour & kyng
unto whom mekely I wyll be obeying

In the thridde pagent was shewed of Josue as foloweth

JOSUE I Josue þat in hebrewe reyn principall
to whome þat all egipte was fayne to inclyne
wyll abey to your plesur princes most riall
as to the heghest lady þat I can ymagyne
to the plesure of your persone I wyll put me to pyne
As a knyght for his lady boldly to fight
Yf any man of curage wold bid you unright.

In the fourthe pagent was shewed of david as foloweth

DAVID I David þat in deyntes have led all my dayes
That slowe þe lyon & goly thorowe goddys myght
Will obey to you lady youre persone prayse
And welcum you curtesly as a kynd knyght
for the love of your lege lorde herry that hight
And your laudabull lyfe that vertuus ever hath be
lady most lufly ye be welcum to þis cite

¹ Thomas Sharp, *Dissertation on the Pageants or Dramatic Mysteries*, p. 147.

In the fyth pagent was shewed a speche of Judas as foloweth

JUDAS I Judas þat yn Jure am callid the belle
 In knyghthode & conquest have I no pere
 Wyll obey to you prynces elles did I not well
 And tendurly welcum you yn my manere
 Your own soverayn lorde & kynge is present here
 Whome god for his godeness preserve in good helthe
 and ende you with worship to this landys welthe.

In the sixt pagent was shewed a speche of Arthur as foloweth

ARTHUR I Arthur kynge crownyd & conquerour
 That yn this land reyned right rially
 With dedes of armes I slowe the Emperour
 The tribute of this ryche reme I made downe to ly
 Ihit unto [you] lady obey I mekely
 as youre sure servande plesur to your highnesse
 for the most plesaunt princes mortal þat es.

In the vij pagent was shewed a speche of Charles as foloweth

CHARLES I charles chefe cheftan of þe reme of fraunce
 And emperour of grete rome made by eleccion
 Which put many paynyns to pyne & penaunce
 The holy relikes of cristie I had in possession
 Jhit lady to your highnes to cause dieu refeccion
 Worshipfully I welcum you after your magnificens
 Yf my service mowe plesse you I wyll put to my diligens

In the viij Pagent was shewed a speche of Julius as foloweth

JULIUS I Julius cesar soverayn of knyghthode
 and emperour of mortall men most hegh & myghty
 Welcum you prynces most benynge & gode
 Of quenes þat byn crowned so high non knowe I
 the same blessyd blossom þat spronge of your body
 Shall succede me in worship I wyll it be so
 all the landis olyve shall obey hym un to.

In the ix Pagent was shewed a speche of Godfride as foloweth

GODFRIDE I Godfride of Bollayn kynge of Jerusalem
 Weryng þe thorny crowne yn worshyp of Jhesu
 Which in battayle have no pere under the sone beme
 Yhit lady right lowely I loute unto yowe
 So excellent a princes stedefast & trewe
 knowe I none christened as you in your estate
 Jhesu for hys merci increse & not abate.

VIII

A tapestry of the third quarter of the fifteenth century in the Basel Historical Museum gives us German couplets for five of the Worthies.¹ The tapestry, bearing as it does the arms of a Basel family, was doubtless of Swiss manufacture.

David kam schlug ich den grossen goliath
Judas Machebeus	ich hab gehabt iudische lant und min opfer zuo gott gesant
Kunig Artus	min macht und min miltikeit das ich alle lant erstreit
Kaiser Karelus	weltlich recht han ich gestift und die bestettiet in geschrift
Göppfrit herr von hollant	noch düress fürsten adels sitten han ich das heilige grab erstritten

Of the texts on the subject of the Nine Worthies one of those given by Gollancz (No. XIII), a mumming play of the time of Edward IV, and one of those given above (No. VII), the Coventry pageant, were intended for oral recitation, and of course each of the speeches is in the first person. It seems to me, therefore, possible that the stanzas of which versions are to be found on the Bibliothèque Nationale and Metz woodcuts and at La Manta were composed originally for that purpose. The commonest method of explanation on wall paintings, tapestries, and so forth is the third person. Perhaps, too, the German prologue to the prose Alexander (Gollancz No. XV) and the couplets for the Basel tapestry, both of which are written in the first person, were also intended as the parts of actors in a pageant, and came to be used naturally for other purposes. A set of sixteenth century tapestries from the district of La Marche, originally discovered at St. Maixent and now at the Castle of Langeais, also bears inscriptions in the first person.² Perhaps when further texts of this character have been accumulated, we shall have actual proof of the occasional adoption of pageant parts by tapicers and other decorative artists for explanatory legends on their products.

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¹ Julius Lessing, *Wandteppiche und Decken des Deutschen Mittelalters*, Plate XXVIII.

² *Bulletin de la Société Archéologique et Historique du Limousin*, 1894, p. 209.



DANE HEW, MUNK OF LEICESTRE

The tales concerning the disposition of a corpse or corpses in an effort to conceal crime are numerous and varied. The discussions of these tales have been of very unequal value. Little remains to be said about those tales which deal with more than one corpse; they have been well studied by Pillet.¹ The state of affairs is quite different with the stories of the wanderings of a single body, for previous collections have been ill arranged and incomplete. Clouston's descriptive account,² which is occupied chiefly with summaries, errs occasionally in matters of relationship. De Cock³ brought together the largest number (twenty-six) of examples, with the declared purpose of showing that the "Little Hunchback" of the *Arabian Nights* could not be their source. His scheme of classification obscures several clearly marked types. Steppuhn⁴ did not even employ all the material accessible to him. He greatly overrates the significance of the fabliau "Le prestre comporté," and, because of insufficient evidence, draws erroneous conclusions about the affiliations of Masuccio's novella. Sumtsov's discussion of tales about fools touches incidentally upon these corpse-stories.⁵ Sumtsov cites seventeen tales, which for the most part do not appear in the other articles. He holds that these tales originated in India and were spread in Western Europe by the fabliaux and novelle. He was unfortunate in selecting an Indian example⁶ to serve as a starting-point. The tale of his choice relates how the stupid brother in executing the clever one's orders manages to do everything wrong. Instead of bathing his mother he kills her in a flood of hot water.

¹ *Das Fableau von den Trois Bossus Menestrels*, Halle, 1901; compare an important review by Gaston Paris, *Romania*, XXXI, 136-44.

² *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 332-57.

³ "De Arabische Nachtvertellingen: De Geschiedenis van den kleinen Bultenaar," *Volkskunde* (Ghent), XIII, 216-30.

⁴ *Das Fabel vom Prestre Comporté: Ein Beitrag zur Fabelforschung und zur Volkskunde*, Dissertation, Königsberg i. Pr., 1913.

⁵ N. Ph. Sumtsov, "Razyskaniya v oblasti anekdoticheskoy literatury. Anekdoty o gluptsakh," in *Sbornik Harkovskogo istoriko-filologicheskogo Obshchestva*, XI (Harkov, 1899), 165-67 (pp. 48 ff. of the reprint).

⁶ Minaef, *Indiiskia Skazki i Legendy*, pp. 38-42.

When he is sent to bring a girl to his brother's house, he cuts her into pieces for convenience in carrying her. The mutilated body and the murderer are burned. This is not a tale of the wanderings of a corpse at all. It has no bearing on the question of the origin of the genuine corpse-stories which Sumtsov cites, and of course it does not prove their Indian origin. A discussion of corpse-stories did not properly lie in the field of Sumtsov's paper; consequently his collections are incomplete and his remarks rather unsatisfactory.

The material available is far more abundant than appears from any previous study; several hundred stories about the wanderings of *one* corpse are mentioned below. The objects of this paper are to distinguish the various types of tales based on the incident of the compromising corpse and to examine in more detail the group, interesting because of its singular literary popularity, which includes "Dane Hew, Munk of Leicester."

In the tales to be discussed the lifelessness of the dead body lends itself to a grotesque or often revolting humor. The lack of respect, the disrespect even, for the rites and conventions of burial, and the coarsely comic situations into which the corpse falls, are exploited to the full and with a gusto which we today may envy, but would scarcely imitate. The subject is not one which allows of many kinds of treatment. The majority of these tales are told in a matter-of-fact tone—so matter-of-fact, indeed, that they could be, and in some cases were, accepted as actual historical tradition. The conscious literary artist either follows the lead of the folk-tales or turns it all into a mock-heroic burlesque.

I

The many tales which have as their main theme the disposal of a corpse or corpses, fall into several clearly separable classes with a residue of scattering and unclassifiable forms. The more important of the clearly separable types may be designated for convenience as: *Les trois bossus menestrels*, *Tote Frau*, *The Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, *Prestre Comporté*, and *Dane Hew*. Only occasionally does a member of one of these groups seem to be contaminated by, or combined with, a tale of another type. Furthermore, the number of tales which fall strictly under each head is sufficient, especially in

view of their geographical distribution and the nature of their relationship, to justify the classification. A number of tales, however, resist successfully all attempts to "pigeon-hole" them. This is to be expected in the variants of a theme so widespread and so capable of modification. It is by no means necessary, nor is it desirable, to assume that all these scattering forms can be traced back to a common source. The fact that unclassifiable forms do exist, and in considerable numbers, is itself a proof that no violence has been done to the tales that have been classified.

Pillet has made an excellent study of *Les trois bossus menestrels*, which has been corrected in some points by Gaston Paris. Briefly the story is:

The wife of a humpback makes assignments at successive hours with three humpbacks. The first is hurried into a closet when the second appears, the second follows in his turn, and then the third when the husband comes home. There they stifle, and the wife must dispose of the bodies in order to conceal the affair. She calls in a porter and offers him a sum of money to carry off one body. On his return for his pay she declares that the corpse has come back. The porter is surprised but takes the second body away and ties a stone about its neck before throwing it into the river. He is induced to carry off the third on the same pretext, [and this he is burning when the humpbacked husband rides by. The porter thinks that the appearance of the latter explains the mystery of the returning corpse and throws both horse and rider into the fire].¹

The great popularity of this tale is due in large measure to its inclusion in certain texts of the *Seven Sages*, where it is known as *Gibbosi*.² The addition of variants to those recorded by Pillet will probably not change the status of the investigation.³ It will suffice for

¹ The episode in brackets is peculiar to the occidental variants.

² On the use of *Gibbosi* as a means of classification of the texts of the *Seven Sages*, see A. Hilka, *Historia septem sapientum*, I (= *Sammlung mittellateinischer Texte*, 4), p. xi. Hilka prints a new version of considerable importance.

³ Hindu: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94 (from **North Indian Notes and Queries*, IV, 422). Malay: W. Skeat, *Fables and Folktales from an Eastern Forest*, pp. 36-37, "Father Follow-My-Nose" and the Four Priests." Syriac: Oestrup, *Contes de Damas*, pp. 115-21. Greek: *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; *ibid.*, XI, 333, No. 8. Rumanian: Gröber's *Grundriss*, II, iii, pp. 385, 393. Italian: *Enciclopedia*, IV, 145, No. 5; Francesco Angeloni da Terni, *Novella XXIII* (unpublished; see summary by G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII*, 111-12). French: *Revue des trad. pop.*, II, 461; XI, 451-53; XXI, 459-61; Wallonia, XIII, 199; Sébillot, *Les joyeuses histoires de Bretagne*, No. 77. Flemish: de Mont and de Cock, *Dit zijn Vlaamsche Vertelsels*, No. 407. The Hungarian additions are numerous: see Gálos, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XVIII (1902), 103-14; *Ethnographia*, XIX

the present purpose to emphasize the facts that the point of this tale lies in the disposal of *several* corpses, and that a trick must therefore be played on the porter who thinks he is carrying away but one. The heart and fiber of this tale is the plurality of the bodies. It is inconceivable that a story about the disposal of *one* corpse could have developed out of it. The assignments of a lady with several wooers and their subsequent discomfiture (but not death), as narrated in the fabliau *Constant du Hamel* or in Lydgate's *Prioress and Her Three Wooers*, are more suggestive as parallels to *Les trois bossus menestrels* than are stories about one corpse.¹ Indeed some French fabliaux seem to be a combination of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and *Constant du Hamel*. A curious joining of *Les trois bossus menestrels* with the episode of the bride won by the man who guesses the true nature of an enormous flea's hide² is found in an Italian tale, "È Re Gobbetto."³

(1908), 125; B. Heller, *ibid.*, XIX, 272; *Revue des trad. pop.*, XXI, 369 ff. For Scandinavia, see Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, No. 89 (cf. *Nyare bidrag till kännedom om de svenska landsmålen*, II, cix, and Wigström, *ibid.*, V, No. 1 [1884], p. 102); Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 111; *S. Bugge and R. Berge, *Norske Eventyr og Sagn*, Ny Samling, 1913, No. 20, p. 78. Hackmann, *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537*, cites 5 versions from Sweden in Finland. It is known in Slavic territory: see F. S. Krauss, *Märchen und Sagen der Südslaven*, I, No. 98; Dalmatia: *Zt. des Vereins für Volkskunde*, XIX, 324, No. 11; and the abundance of references collected by Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 99; XXIX, 452, No. 340; XXXI, 274, No. 82; *Zt. f. österreichische Volkskunde*, VIII, 148, Nos. 25, 26; *Národopisný Sborník Československý*, Svazek VII (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 7. Numerous additional references of all sorts are to be found in J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 281 (addenda to his notes on V. Schumann, *Nachbüchlein*, No. 19); Chauvin, *Bibliographie des ouvrages arabes*, VIII, 72; *ibid.*, IX, 88 (addenda by Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XX, 331). Modern literary redactions are cited by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 349.

On the oriental origin of this tale see von der Leyen, Herrig's *Archiv*, CXVI, 294 ff. On Jörg Graff (Pillet, p. 94) see also Götze, *Zt. f. d. d. Unterricht*, XXVII, 99. I have not seen H. Varnhagen, *De glossis nonnullis anglicis*, Universitätschrift, Erlangen, 1902; nor E. de Cerny, *Saint Sulpice et ses légendes*, "Les trois mortes." The tale in Waetzold, *Flore* (cf. Paul's *Grundriss*, II, No. 1, p. 378), does not belong here.

I have not seen the works whose titles, in this and later notes, are preceded by a star.

¹ Pillet, pp. 51-75; Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen*, II, 231, note; Prinz, *A Tale of a Prioress and Her Three Wooers* (= *Literarhistorische Forschungen*, XLVII).

On the relation of *Constant du Hamel* and *Les trois bossus menestrels* see further: Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, VIII, 51; Jonas, *Journal of Eng. and Germ. Philol.*, X, 111; Bédier, *Fabliaux*, p. 246; Cosquin, *Romania*, XL, 486; *Zt. d. V. f. V.*, XIX, 213; Vetter, *Germanisch-romanische Monatschrift*, V, 556 f.; B. Heller, *Ethnographia*, XIX, 371; Hilka, *Jahresbericht d. schles. Ges. f. vaterl. Kultur*, XC, No. 4, p. 18.

² On this see R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 601; Flohfeld erraten; Bolte, *Zt. d. V. f. V.*, XVI, 242, No. 23, and XVII, 229; Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXVI, 464; Desparmet, *Contes pop.*, p. 407.

³ G. Zanazzo, *Tradizioni popolari romane*, I, *Novelle, favole e leggende romanesche*, pp. 41 ff. = *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XXII, 123 ff.

The main outlines of the story which, in accordance with Steppuhn, I shall call *Tote Frau*, are tolerably clear, and wholly distinct from those of any other form:

A poor brother (or sexton) steals a hog from his rich brother (or parson). The latter suspects the right man, but wishes to make certain. So he conceals his mother-in-law in a chest which he asks the poor brother to keep for a short time. The spy betrays her presence, however, and is killed by the pouring of boiling water into the chest, or by some similar method which leaves no mark of violence. To give a plausible reason for her death the poor brother puts a bit of cheese or dry bread in her mouth. The rich brother is astonished when he opens the chest, but he can prove nothing, and the corpse is buried with fitting respect. At night the scamp disinters the body, robs it of its jewels, and places it at the rich brother's door. The latter must part with some of his ill-gotten gains to provide a proper funeral, for he is led to believe that the dead woman's reappearance is due to lack of dignity in her previous burial. Successive repetitions or variations of the trick make the wealth of the two brothers approximately equal, and then the corpse is allowed to rest.

The accidental origin of this tale¹ is, I think, as clear as the original origin of *Les trois bossus menestrels*. The characteristic features of this type are: that the corpse is a woman's, that its

¹ The variants are abundant. Steppuhn (p. 49) cites only: J. F. Campbell, *Popular Tales of the West Highlands*, No. 15; E. Meier, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus Schwaben*, No. 66; Cosquin, *Contes pop. de la Lorraine*, No. 80; Braga, *Contos tradicionais do povo portuguez*, p. 210, No. 109, "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta" (this is a contaminated version; see the remarks below on "Dane Hew"). It is well known on Celtic soil. Hebrides: *Folk-Lore*, IX, 89, No. 10. Irish: M. Sheehan, *Cnó Coilleadh Craobhaighe*, Dublin, 1907, pp. 49 ff., "An t-seanchailleach sa Chófra" ("The Old Woman in the Chest"); J. Lloyd, *Sgéalaíthe Óirghiall*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1905, pp. 12-16 (with trifling variations from Sheehan); J. Lloyd, *Tonn Tóime*, Dublin (Gaelic League), 1915, pp. 24-28 (in both of Lloyd's collections it is entitled "An Dearbráthir Bocht agus an Dearbráthir Saidhbhir" ["The Poor Brother and the Rich Brother"]). In *Tonn Tóime* the servant who aids the poor brother is a Thankful Dead Man. For these references in Irish I am indebted to Professor F. N. Robinson; Britten, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 185-86; T. C. Croker, *Killarney Legends*, pp. 81-86. It is known in Flemish and North German countries; see Pelz, *Blätter f. pommersche Volkskunde*, I, 43; Jahn, *Schwänke und Schnurren aus Pommern*, p. 111; Wissor, *Plattdeutsche Volksmärchen*, No. 29 (he has 30 unprinted variants, see p. xxiii. For the concluding incident see Addy, *Household Tales*, No. 17); Strackerjan, *Aberglaube und Sagen aus dem Herzogtum Oldenburg*, II, 501-6 (the editor, Willloh, has altered this tale [cf. *Hessische Blätter f. Volkskunde*, VIII, 204], and the first edition [I, 354] should be used); *Ons Volksleven*, XII, 109 (defective); de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 229, No. 22. For Scandinavia, see E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, No. 3, pp. 24-32; Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volksmärchen*, No. 114. *FF Communications*, V, No. 1536, cites 117 Finnish variants, of which five are from Finns out of Finland. A great variety of Slavic and other references are to be found in R. Köhler, *Kleinere Schriften*, I, 190; Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XVII, 581, Nos. 216, 217; XIX, 267, No. 29; *Zt. f. ost. Vk.*, VIII, 147, No. 21; 148, No. 24; 152, No. 79; *Národopisný Sborník Československý* (Prague, 1901), p. 213, No. 6.

For the robbery of jewels from a corpse see Burne, *Shropshire Folklore*, p. 105; "Lagenlensis," *Irish Folklore*, Glasgow, 1870, p. 24. For the fear of the return of a

returnings embarrass the same person (the rich brother or the parson), and that the poor brother (or sexton) profits from its reappearances. The absence of any signs of murder on the body, and the bit of food which the murderer puts into the old woman's mouth to make it seem that she has choked, are common to all the tales. In Ireland and Scotland it is usually related of two brothers, elsewhere of a country preacher and his sexton. On the whole, the Continental tales are less imaginative than the Celtic. The disposal of the corpse in the Continental tales is a matter of rather vulgar bargaining by which the sexton enriches himself; and there is none of that strange horror of the corpse supposedly returning for a more gorgeous burial. It is noteworthy that no other story of a compromising corpse has been found in Ireland.

The *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* is composed of two wholly distinct stories, as is evident from an outline of the occidental variants:¹

An adulterous wife, fearing that knowledge of her conduct may come to the ears of her husband, prays that he may be blinded. The husband hears her prayer and deceives her into thinking that it has been granted. He seizes the opportunity, which her confidence in his dissembling gives, to kill the priest.² The story of the corpse is very summarily told. Usually the corpse is leaned against an altar; sometimes a horse, bearing the body, runs wild in a pot-market.

corpse see W. Gregor, *Folklore of the Northeast of Scotland*, p. 214 (something similar to this tale is hinted at); *Alemannia*, VIII, 129 ff. For parallels to the incident of the old woman bound to a foal which pursues its mother, see M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, No. 24 and notes, p. 114.

The Continental tales are often introduced with the episode of the man who did not wish to share with his neighbors the hog that he had slaughtered. He follows a cheat's advice and exposes the hog which, by prearrangement, the cheat steals. The cheat asserts that someone else stole it, and the selfish man dares not accuse him. For this as an independent story see A. C. Lee, *The Decameron: Its Sources and Analogues*, pp. 257-58.

¹ Schneller, *Märchen und Sagen aus Wälschtirol*, 1867, No. 58; J. G. T. Grässe, *Sagenbuch des preussischen Staates*, II, 1009-10, No. 1242; M. Böhm, *Lettische Schwänke*, p. 65, No. 40 (and notes, p. 119; cf. addenda by Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXXIII, 605). The Russian examples are abundant: see Kperráñis, I, 240-43; Jaworskij, *Zi. d. V. f. Vk.*, VIII, 218 (too brief to be compared); Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XIX, 256, No. 102; XXXI, 269, No. 50; Radloff, *Proben der Volksliteratur der türkischen Stämme*, X, 150-52, Nos. 84, 84a. Sumtsov (see note 5 on p. 221) cites: *Sadovnikov, p. 162. Polish: *Kolberg, *Pokucie*, IV, No. 67. For Finland see Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1380; *ibid.*, V, No. 1380 (72 variants); Hackmann, *ibid.*, VI, No. 1380 (4 variants from Swedes in Finland). Greek: R. M. Dawkins, *Modern Greek in Asia Minor* (Cambridge, 1916), pp. 475-79, "The Son who feigned blindness"; and compare Halliday's notes, *ibid.*, pp. 236-37.

² He pours hot fat down the priest's throat; for this see also Erk-Böhme, *Deutscher Liederhort*, I, 172, No. 50A, "Die Mordeltern."

The incident of the husband who feigns blindness in order to outwit his wife and her paramour has a family tree of its own extending as far back as the Panchatantra.¹ The dissembled blindness in conjunction with a corpse-story is found both in Europe and in India. It is probable that we are not dealing with a combination which was made in the Orient and then transmitted westward. Hans Sachs, who knows the story, very probably joined the parts himself.² On the other hand, we can show that a union of the parts was also made in India. In a Ceylonese tale,³ after the husband has feigned blindness and killed the lover, the body is put first in a neighbor's field, and then before a salt-dealer's house; the latter strikes the body, discovers that it is a corpse, and, knowing himself to be innocent, makes the murder known to the government. The 'guilty wife, who has been hired as a mourner, betrays herself and is executed; the murderer goes scot-free. In connection with this tale the corpse-stories collected from three North Indian tribes, the Santal, the Oraon-Kol, and the Kohlān, offer some points of interest. A corpse in a Santal tale⁴ has a set of adventures similar to those in the Ceylonese story; in both the blinding episode is lacking. The second tribe, which has other tales in common with the Santal, tells essentially the same corpse-story⁵ with a curious addition:

A potter, who has been the contriver of the corpse's adventures, counterfeits its voice at the funeral pyre in which it is being burned, and bids the

¹ Montanus, *Schwankbücher* (ed. Bolte), p. 611 (*Gartengesellschaft*, chap. lxxii); *Zt. d. V. f. Vh.*, XXI, 197; Swynnerton, *Folk-Lore Journal*, I, 147; H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 215; Stiefel, *Litteraturblatt f. germ. und rom. Philol.*, XXXVII, col. 26; E. Cotarelo y Mori, *Colección de Entremeses* (= *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, XVII), I, p. cxxiii; *Grisanti, *Usi, credenze . . . di Isello*, II, 202; *Lademann, *Tierfabeln und andere Erzählungen in Suaheli*, No. 35; *Anthropophyteia*, I, 448, No. 338; *ibid.*, 449, No. 339; Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen, und Märchen in heanischer Mundart*, No. 19; *F. Lorentz, *Slawische Texte*, p. 142, No. 130; cf. Polivka, *Zt. f. öst. Vh.*, VII, 195. Bolte (*Zt. d. V. f. Vh.*, XXIV, 430) cites a discussion of this tale by S. Debenedetti. See also the *Skogar Kristarímur*, of Rognvaldr blindi (Paul's *Grundriss*², II, 1, p. 729).

² Stiefel, *Zt. d. V. f. Vh.*, X, 74 ff. The *meistergesang* is "Der baur, messner, mit dem (toten) paffen" in Sachs, *Sämliche Fabeln und Schwänke* (ed. Goetze, Neudrucke, Nos. 207-11), V, No. 742.

³ H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 212-15, No. 228.

⁴ Bompas, *Folklore of the Santal Parganas*, pp. 247-48, "The Corpse of the Raja's Son."

⁵ F. Hahn, *Blicke in die Geisteswelt der heidnischen Kols*, Gütersloh, 1906, pp. 16-19, No. 9. In this collection Nos. 15 and 20 are from the Santal. See also the remark on No. 34.

people give half the kingdom and the hand of the ruler's (corpse's) daughter to the potter.¹

Now the Kohlān tale contains in the corpse-story this new motif, and prefixes the dissembled blinding to it all.² The fact that the corpse-story in all these—the Ceylonese tale included—is practically one and the same indicates that here is a specifically Indian type, and that it is being combined with other motifs before our eyes. These eastern tales exhibit no striking or significant resemblances to the European forms.

The eastern tales are not the source of the other versions. The joining of the episode of the dissembled blindness to a corpse-story probably took place at least three different times. The only one of these which we can date is the juncture made by Hans Sachs. The combination in India is probably very recent, for it is apparently restricted to a few intimately related tribes. The combination as it appears in European folk-tales has had sufficient time to become widely disseminated, and, if we may assume a single starting-point, to develop considerable individual differences. The situation is obscured by the facts that it is difficult to identify the source of the corpse-story³ in the European *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*, and that there has been some interchange of motifs between this and other types.

Steppuhn errs in not developing Pillet's suggestion (p. 96) that the fabliaux "Le prestre comporté" and "Du segretain ou du moine" are representatives of different groups. The *Prestre Comporté* type is a very old one, and it will not be possible to unravel its history here. It may be outlined as follows:

A woman has been carrying on a liaison with a priest. The husband, who has been informed of the affair by a servant,⁴ makes certain of the

¹ This is comparable to the story of Gianni Schicchi (*Inferno*, XXX): cf. Altrocchi, *Pub. Mod. Lang. Assoc.*, XXIX, 200-225; see also Voessler, *Studien zur vgl. Lit. gesch.*, II, 19. Professor Altrocchi found no examples in folk-tales; in addition to these, see W. F. O'Connor, *Folk Tales from Thibet*, p. 128, and compare *Mitteilungen d. Ver. f. Gesch. d. Deutschen in Böhmen*, XV, 166, No. 6.

² Bompas, *op. cit.*, pp. 480-83, No. 22. The Kohlān are related to the Santal.

³ It is so brief that comparison with other forms is difficult. It has certain similarities to some tales of the *Prestre Comporté* type, but the most characteristic incidents of one type do not appear in the other.

⁴ For parallels to this figure see Bolte, *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, New Series, VII, 464; Polivka, *Archiv f. slav. Philol.*, XXII, 310, No. 700; *Zt. f. ost. Vk.*, VIII, 147, No. 11; 149, No. 36.

lover's visit one night by announcing his intended absence. He returns unexpectedly and kills the priest (usually by pouring some hot liquid down his throat). He feels no responsibility for the concealment of the murder, for its disclosure will cause him little inconvenience. [He torments his wife by forcing her to move the body from one place to another in order, as she hopes, to hide it from him.]¹ The corpse is then laid against a door, [is mounted on a horse], and is exchanged for a hog in a sack. Apparently the blame finally rests on an ecclesiastic whose position protects him from the accusation of murder.

The variants² differ widely among themselves, and a satisfactory archetype cannot be easily constructed. One thing, however, is quite clear: the fabliau "*Le prestre comporté*" is not, as Steppuhn would have it, a good substitute for its folk-tale source (or the archetype); it is too elaborate and sophisticated. Characteristic of this type are: the guilty wife, the servant who either informs the husband of the liaison or disposes of the body or does both, and murder by pouring a hot liquid down the man's throat. The mounting of the corpse on horseback, although it is not found in all the examples, has certain distinctive characteristics: it is not the conclusion of the tale, the corpse is not armed, and the horse and rider are attacked for trespass (usually on a grainfield).

Prestre Comporté is first and foremost a type circulating among the folk; its immediate literary derivatives are negligible. By a selection and rearrangement of incidents a new form developed out of this rather chaotic type. This new form I call the *Dane Hew* type and shall discuss in detail below.

A number of tales remind us of one or another of the foregoing types without presenting a conclusive similarity. These corrupt

¹ Details in brackets are not common to all variants.

² "*Le prestre comporté*," Montaignon-Raynaud, *Recueil général des fabliaux*, IV, No. 80 (trans. A. von Keller, *Altfranzösische Sagen*, II, 167 ff.; retold with minor changes by L. H. Nicolay, *Vermischte Gedichte und prosaische Schriften*, Berlin, 1792, I, 156-67, "*Der Kapuziner*"). Its nearest associates are: Asbjørnsen and Moe, *Norske Folkeeventyr, Ny Samling*, Christiania, 1871, pp. 141-51, No. 88, "*Klokkeren i Bygden vor*" (trans. Dasent, *Tales from the Fjeld*, pp. 184 ff., "*Our Parish Clerk*") and de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 220-21, No. 4, "*Pater Koekebak*." Pitroè, *Fiabe, novelle . . . pop. sic.*, Palermo, 1874, No. 165, "*Fra Ghiniparu*" (ill-told and contaminated with Masuccio, *Novella 1*) and Finamore, *Trad. pop. abruz.*, I, *Novelle*, Lanciano, 1882, pp. 40-42, No. 9 (very clever), form another group. Haas, *Blätter f. pomm. Vk.*, IX, 24-26, contains incidents from the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse* (compare the tale collected by Grässe cited in note 1 on p. 226). See further: E. T. Kristensen, *Fra Mindebo*, pp. 145-51, No. 28; B. Heller, *Rev. des trad. pop.*, XXI, 373-74 (two tales); Sèbillot, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, XIII, 280-81 (defective).

versions tell us nothing new about the types; they are of interest only because they show how easily these tales were modified. The whole might be given a new emphasis, the motivation of the murder might be changed, and the narrator might forget incidents which even he felt to be essential.

Some of these tales may contain remnants of the corpse-story in the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*. The narrator in these corrupt forms strains his ingenuity to devise new ways of "killing" the corpse. When his invention fails he concludes with one or another incident which is especially familiar in this type. In the Icelandic "Märchen vom Barbieri,"¹ the barber extorts hush money from a miller, a tailor, and a shoemaker at whose doors he has laid the corpse. Since it offers him no further opportunities for profit he lays it on the church steps, and it is buried in the odor of sanctity. A Dutch tale² has, like the Icelandic, three "slayings" of the corpse, which is then mounted on a horse and runs wild in the pot-market; "perhaps it's running yet," says the narrator. The characteristic incidents in these two are respectively the body on the church steps and in the pot-market, and these seem to be the property of the *Blinded Husband and the Corpse*. A meistersong, "Vom pfarrer der zu fünf maln starb,"³ which has been ascribed to Hans Rosenplüt, may possibly belong under this head.

"D'un vieux cheval et d'une vieille femme"⁴ may contain reminiscences of the *Prestre Comporté* type, although there are considerable differences. So, too, a curious Magyar tale⁵ has certain resemblances in spite of its unique and grewsome introduction: a woman has a passion for tearing out people's hair; her husband on his deathbed

¹ Rittershaus, *Die neuisländischen Volkemärchen*, pp. 396 ff., No. 112. Compare with it: "Ta Hans'l unt ta' Pfaara" in Bünker, *Schwänke, Sagen und Märchen in heanzischer Mundart*, pp. 7-9, No. 3.

² "De Groentedief," de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 222, No. 7. Compare with it: "Le Père Bernard" (*Rev. des trad. pop.*, XI, 302-3), from Haute Bretagne.

³ A. von Keller, *Erzählungen aus altdeutschen Handschriften* (Stuttgart Lit. Ver., XXXV), pp. 111-19. Stiefel (*Zt. d. V. f. Vlk.*, X, 77) relates it loosely to *Prestre Comporté*. On the ascription to Rosenplüt see V. Michels, *Studien über die ältesten Fastnachtspiele* (= *Quellen und Forschungen*, LXXVII), p. 148, and J. Demme, *Studien über Hans Rosenplüt*, Münster, 1906, p. 15.

⁴ Sébillot, *Contes pop. de la Haute Bretagne* (1880), I, 236-42, No. 36; see also Step-puhn, pp. 66, 68.

⁵ G. von Gnal, *Märchen der Magyaren*, pp. 276-89.

assures her that she will die a fivefold death if she does not let him carry his hair to the grave; she violates his wish and pays the penalty.

What seems to be a fifth type of corpse-story is found in tales from Finland, Transylvania, and Rumania. The Transylvanian "Der siebenmal Getödtete"¹ is the most easily accessible version of this type. It is remarkable on account of the abundance of incidents. A characteristic one, unknown in western Europe, is the floating of the corpse in a boat until it disturbs a duck hunter and is "shot."²

A few interesting tales from a great variety of places do not accord with any of the foregoing types. No two of them are alike. They exhibit only insignificant, incidental resemblances to forms we have met. The fabliau "Dou sagretaig"³ is the oldest of these wholly anomalous tales:

A ram butts a priest and kills him. His corpse is placed at the door of a neighbor whose wife the priest had once loved; it is thrown into the river. Two fishers draw out the sack containing it, and one of them carries the sack home. The other refuses to believe that the sack contained nothing but a corpse, and publicly accuses his comrade of murder. While the first fisher is undergoing the ordeal of the bier, the ram is accidentally led past, the corpse bleeds, and the murder is out.

The similarities between this and other forms are negligible.⁴ The discovery of the real murderer, the ram, by the ordeal of the bier seems to be the point of this tale; this is a curious turn which is paralleled nowhere else. The introductory love affair—lost because the manuscript is torn—is of a sort unfamiliar in these tales because there is nothing illicit about it. In a tale⁵ of the Mande, a Central African tribe, we have a helpful servant who carries about the body

¹ Haltrich, *Deutsche Volksmärchen aus dem Sachsenlande in Siebenbürgen*, 1856, No. 61. Rumanian: *Obert, *Ausland*, 1856, 716 (summarized by Steppuhn, pp. 69 ff.). Finnish: Aarne, *FF Communications*, III, No. 1537. *Ibid.*, V, No. 1537, cites 42 Finnish versions; *ibid.*, VI, No. 1537, gives 8 from Swedes in Finland.

² See also the tales in Radloff (note 1 on p. 226).

³ Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil général*, VI, 243 ff.

⁴ The two incidents of this tale which may be compared with other forms are the leaning of the corpse against a door and the throwing of it into water. Both incidents are so frequent as to be of no significance in questions of origin or affiliation. For the first see R[ouse], *Folk-Lore*, VII, 94; Paton, *ibid.*, XI, 334, and note 1 on p. 234 below; the second occurs often in the *Prestre Comporté* and *Dane Hew* types. See also H. Parker, *Village Folk-Tales of Ceylon*, III, 139-40, and for historical instances, Lütolf, *Germania*, XVII, 215.

⁵ L. Frobenius, *Der schwarze Dekameron*, 342-50, No. 4, "Der Listige" (cf. p. 388). The Mande have long been in contact with Mohammedans to the north.

of his mistress' paramour. The journey of the corpse (carried to a robber's house, laid against a tree in which men were collecting honey, set before the king's harem) does not exhibit any significant similarities to anything else. It concludes with a well-known incident which has no connection with the corpse-story cycle: when the guilty man receives a mark which should distinguish him on the morrow, he marks all about him in the same way, and thus prevents detection.¹ "Die mehrere Male getötete Leiche"² is a dull tale of a woman who killed her mother-in-law for making trouble; the blame was shifted to the husband, to his brother, and then to an outsider. The most sordid of all these tales is one from Malta.³ It relates how money was extorted from various merchants by the trick of leaving a child's body in their shops and then accusing them of murder. Apparently the same idea inspires a tale from the Swedish population of Finland.⁴

Of all the anomalous tales the "Little Hunchback" in the *Arabian Nights* is the most important, for it has often been used to bridge the gap in the transmission of these stories from their supposed place of origin in India to Europe. It has already been recognized that it fulfils this office very unsatisfactorily; de Cock's article was written to prove that it is not such an intermediary, and Steppuhn (pp. 60 f.) reaches the same conclusion independently. It seems to be unrelated to any other tale. Chauvin⁵ states that the story is probably older than the Cairene recension of the *Nights* into which it was interpolated; but we have no descendants from this hypothetical floating form. The purpose of the insertion is apparent; it gives a frame for the stories of the murderers who came forward to accuse themselves. Except for its use in *Sumurun*, the dramatization of the "Little Hunchback," there is no evidence of its popularity apart from the *Nights*.⁶

¹ For parallels see Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 113-65; Schoepperle, *Tristan and Isolt*, I, 214, note 2; von der Leyen, *Herrig's Archiv*, CXV, 11, note 2.

² Rittershaus, *Die neuieländischen Volksmärchen*, pp. 399 ff., No. 113.

³ H. Stummo, *Maltesische Märchen*, pp. 61-64, No. 22, "Margherita" (original text in his *Maltesische Studien*, pp. 44-45, which is apparently much shorter than the translation).

⁴ *FF Communications*, VI, No. 1537**.

⁵ In a letter quoted by de Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 230.

⁶ See Chauvin, *Bibliographie*, V, 181. For a variant resembling *Sumurun*, see *Magasin pittoresque*, V, 201-2. It is not mentioned in Conant, *The Oriental Tale in England*, or in de Meester, *Oriental Influences in the English Literature of the Early 19th Century*.

Two folk-stories about corpses have been inaccessible to me.¹

In written literature as contrasted with folk-literature, the theme of the compromising corpse has not been widely used. It is too somber, and the lifeless body, except in the way that it affects the living, offers few possibilities to the literary artist. Noteworthy examples are: Palacio Valdés, "El Crimen de la Calle de la Perseguida";² the crassly realistic "Der tote Jude," of Hans Heinz Ewers;³ and Robert Louis Stevenson's "The Wrong Box," which Mr. Granville Barker has recently dramatized as "The Morris Dance." In a clever story by James Morier⁴ a dead man's head is bandied about. The interest in all these is rather in the emotions of the living than in the disposition of the body. There are a few literary instances in which the corpse is the "hero" of the tale, but these rest ultimately on some one of the folk-tales discussed below. In an incidental way the compromising corpse appears now and again on the stage, e.g., in Marlowe's *Jew of Malta*, IV, iii, and, with still more horrors, in Tourneur's *Revenger's Tragedy*, V, i.⁵

Certain facts about the relations of the various groups of tales may now be pointed out. No matter how far back we may go with the forms that have been described, *Les trois bossus menestrels* cannot be the source of any one. Nor is there cogent reason for thinking that the "Little Hunchback" is an intermediary between the East and the West. For speculation on the possible oriental origin of these tales, the Santal "Corpse of the Raja's Son" and the Kohlän and other Indian tales of the *Blinded Husband* type offer a foundation firmer than any hitherto proposed.

Obvious interrelations between the groups are few, but cross-influences of all sorts must not be excluded. The corpse-story in the

¹ E. T. Kristensen, *Bindestuens Saga*, p. 116; Schullerus, "Rumänische Volksmärchen," No. 59, in *Archiv des Vereins für siebenbürgische Landeskunde*, New Series, XXXIII.

² *Agua Fuerte* = *Obras Completas*, Vol. X, Madrid, 1907.

³ *Das Grauen*, pp. 208-40, München, 1912.

⁴ *Adventures of Hajji Baba of Ispahan*, chap. xiv.

⁵ On Marlowe and *Titus Andronicus*, II, iii, see A. Schröer, *Ueber Titus Andronicus*, p. 118 (review by Brandl, *Gött. gel. Anz.*, 1891, p. 714); on Tourneur, see E. Koepfel, *Quellenstudien zu den Dramen B. Jonsons*, Münchner Beiträge, XI, 140.

For the painting of the corpse, as in an earlier scene of the *Revenger's Tragedy*, see also *The Second Maiden's Tragedy*, V, ii (*Doddsley's Old English Plays*, X) and with a different purpose, Reade, *Cloister and the Hearth*, chap. xxxiii.

Blinded Husband and the Corpse has, in spite of its paucity of incident, something in common with *Prestre Comporté*. Some tale of the *Prestre Comporté* type, as will presently appear, supplied the material from which some clever narrator adapted incidents for *Dane Hew*. The complex "Siebenmal Getödtete" and the tales like it exhibit no significant similarities to any other group. The cleft between *Tote Frau* and other cycles cannot be bridged.

Before taking up the *Dane Hew* group we may note in passing certain tales in which the disposition of a compromising corpse appears merely as an incidental episode. In some of these the murderer simply props the body up—often at the scene of the murder—and makes his escape.¹ This device is best known in the widespread *Unibosmärchen*,² in which it is occasionally replaced by the episode of the pretended resuscitation of the hero's wife, who has been slain—so the onlookers think—by a blow. In one variant of *Unibos*³ the narrator has not unskillfully expanded the motif of the corpse by inserting details from the longer corpse-stories. It is told of two monks of Bégard, and follows the *Unibos* type fairly well except for this incident:

While the clever monk is carrying the corpse to town he sees a pear tree in the moonlight. At its foot he lays the corpse. The proprietor of the orchard shoots the body "dead," and pays for the monk's silence. Then the corpse mounted on horseback rides wild in a pot-market. From a merchant who thinks he has killed the corpse more money is extorted. Naturally, the stupid monk fails in his attempt to make money from a corpse.

¹ Examples are collected by Miss M. R. Cox, *Cinderella*, p. 501, note 42. See further: Rand, *Legends of the Micmacs*, No. 57; Grundtvig, *Danmarks Folkeviser i Udvalgt*, p. 101 (Prior, *Ancient Danish Ballads*, I, 69); *Folk-Lore*, XXII, 466; "De Schäwekeerl," *Niedersachsen*, May 1, 1901 (summarized by Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348); R. C. Temple, *Indian Antiquary*, IX, 206; *Zt. d. V. f. V.*, XVII, 339; *Squyr of Low Degre* (ed. Mead), p. 30, cf. pp. xxxii, 76.

I am not inclined to believe that this motif has any relation to the *Hjaðningavíg*, the myth of the recurrent battle, in spite of Liebrecht's comparisons (*Otia Imperialia*, p. 195).

² See J. Frey, *Gartengesellschaft* (ed. Bolte), p. 278, note 6d; Bolte and Polivka, *Anmerkungen zu den Kinder- und Hausmärchen*, II, 1-18 (No. 61, "Das Bürle"; the motif is G⁴, cf. pp. 10 ff.); Jellinek, *Literarisches Centralblatt*, 1901, col. 899; Wiener, *Yiddish Literature*, pp. 45-49. It appears independently in Leskien and Brugmann, *Litauische Volkslieder und Märchen*, No. 38, p. 483 (cf. notes, p. 574).

³ Luzel, *Contes pop. de la Basse Bretagne*, III, 426-38 = Blüml, *Schnurren und Schwänke des französischen Bauernvolkes*, No. 52.

In other tales the corpse is bound on a horse, which is then released to wander where it will.¹ This device also appears in the *Unibosmärchen*. In a Santal tale, "The Greatest Cheat of Seven,"² which is more or less of the *Unibos* type, we have this incident:

The corpse in a sack is laid on a bullock's back. When the animal trespasses on a wheatfield both beast and sack are beaten, and the cheat receives hush money from the man who thinks himself guilty of killing the woman.

II

The *Dane Hew* type is, with a few modifications in detail, a new arrangement in a fixed order of the incidents we have already met in *Prestre Comporté*. The importance of literary transmission in its history explains the clarity of the outlines of the story and the ease with which the relations of the variants can be perceived. The outline of the *Dane Hew* type is as follows:

A husband agrees to his wife's assignation with a libidinous monk (priest); they have conspired to blackmail him or to punish him for his presumption. He is killed by a *blow* on the head. The body is concealed in an outhouse (*pertruis*) of the monastery, is returned to the murderer's door, is exchanged for a hog in a sack,³ and then, more or less completely armed, is mounted on a horse. In one subdivision of this group the horse runs wild, and either dashes its rider's brains out against the lintel of a door or falls with its rider into a river. In the other the horse pursues a mare bearing a man who flees from the accusation of having committed the murder until horse and corpse are engulfed in a ditch.

This sequence of incident, which is one of the most useful means of identifying the type, is followed in all the examples. Other essential characteristics are the new motivation of the murder, and the fact that the mounted corpse is armed.⁴ The

¹ See *Zt. f. vgl. Lit. gesch.*, XIII (1900), 176-78; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 247; Bédier, *Fabliaux*, p. 469 (*E. Hamonic, *Moine Amoureux*; the corpse is armed); Child, *English and Scottish Popular Ballads*, No. 68, "Young Hunting," version G, str. 2 (the corpse is armed); R. Basset, *Contes pop. berbères*, p. 223 (the corpse is later resuscitated by magic water).

² A. Campbell, *Santal Folk Tales*, pp. 98 ff.

³ The incident may have been suggested by the many tales about stolen hogs, e.g., Latham, *Folk-Lore Record*, I, 27; *A C Mery Tales, Shakespeare's Jest Books* (ed. Hazlitt), I, 31-36, No. 16. See also Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 130, 385; Birlinger, *Alemannia*, XIV, 252; Boite, *ibid.*, XV, 63; J. E. Simpkins, *County Folklore*, VII (Fife), pp. 220 f.

⁴ An armed corpse on horseback appears occasionally elsewhere (see note 1 above), as an incidental motif, but not, as far as I know, in a corpse-story.

incident of the corpse's ride must not be confused with the analogous adventure of an unarmed body in *Prestre Comporté*. As the outline indicates, the type shows two subdivisions, one in which the horse runs wild,¹ and one in which it pursues a mare.² Of these the first is older both in the history of the tale and with regard to the variants preserved; the latter has enjoyed a singular literary popularity.

Unfortunately the lack of material prevents us from reproducing completely the process of selection which created the *Dane Hew* type. Certainly neither the fabliau "*Le prestre comporté*" nor any one of its nearest associates was the starting-point; for that purpose a defective Swedish tale,³ in the absence of anything in French, must serve. The Swedish version stands about half-way between *Prestre Comporté* and the earlier form of *Dane Hew*, i.e., the one in which the horse runs wild. Here we have the characteristic incidents of *Prestre Comporté*—the guilty wife and the unarmed corpse on horseback—but the order typical of *Dane Hew*. It will be abundantly apparent that the development of this new type took place in France, although the best example of an intermediate form is Swedish.⁴

To the earlier form of the tale belong the three French fabliaux: "*Du segretain ou du moine*" (SoM); "*Du segretain moine*" (SM); "*Le dit dou soucretain*" (DS). Steppuhn's thesis discusses these thoroughly and, in the main, correctly. He has recognized that the three are closely related; that SM and DS are derivatives from a common source; that SoM is an improvement, chiefly in matters of motivation, on the other two. However, it is not necessarily true that SoM is therefore the source, or a faithful derivative of the source, which was corrupted in the tale which lies behind SM and DS. Steppuhn's argumentation (pp. 34-38) rests solely on the motivation of SoM, which is shown to be the work of a clever craftsman. Only

¹ Montaiglon-Raynaud, *Recueil général*, V, No. 123, "*Du segretain ou du moine*"; *ibid.*, No. 136, "*Du segretain moine*"; *ibid.*, VI, No. 150, "*Le dit dou soucretain*." An oral form of this tale was current in Great Britain a century ago: see Brueyre, *Revue des trad. pop.*, V, 198.

² Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, 1866, III, 135-46 (supercedes C. H. Hartshorne, *Ancient Metrical Romances*, pp. 316-29); Settembrini, *Il Novellino di Masuccio Salernitano*, Novella I, pp. 7-23; Braga, *Contos tradicionais do povo português*, No. 109, p. 210 (combined with *Tote Frau*, see note 1 on p. 225). Only the independent versions are cited here.

³ Bondeson, *Svenska Folksagor*, pp. 301-4, No. 86, "*Prästen, som de ödde tre gånger*" ("The priest who was slain three times").

⁴ Steppuhn's opinions (pp. 41, 64) are neither clear nor consistent.

in one point, the discovery of the body, is a comparison with the other tales possible: in SoM the body is discovered at the *fumier* before the sack is carried to the inn; in all other variants (except Masuccio's novella, which omits the incident) it is discovered at the inn. Here it is clear that SoM is less original, since all the remaining variants agree against it. This fact and the presumption that the better story-teller would be more likely than a poorer one to change the story justify the opinion that SoM as a whole represents the source of the three fabliaux less faithfully than do SM and DS.

The tale as told in the fabliaux is preserved in various literary and popular forms. The thirty-fifth novella of Francesco Angeloni da Terni, which still lies in manuscript in the Marciana at Venice, is closely related to SM-DS. It is accessible only in the following summary by Marchesi:

Nicoletto, pescatore, sorpreso il medico Gilberto con sua moglie, lo uccide. La moglie pone il morto entro una cassa; venuta la notte, Nicoletto lo porta presso la bottega di un macellaio; questi, trovato, lo appoggia alla porta di uno speziale, emette grida lamentose, suona il campanello e fugge; lo speziale esce e, trovato il morto, lo pone a sedere sulla latrina di una casa lontana; qui alcuni giovani lanciano al morto qualche sassata, poi, credendo averlo ucciso loro, lo legano a cavallo di un asino e lo lasciano liberamente vagare per la campagna; finchè l'asino, inseguito, cade ed annega in un fiume, e si crede poi che anche il medico sia morto annegato.¹

This is not entirely clear, for it is not evident who pursues the ass and its burden. The novella resembles the fabliaux SM-DS in the fall of the ass and corpse into the river; this and the placing of the corpse *sulla latrina di una casa lontana* are conclusive evidence that the tale belongs to the *Dane Hew* type. The illicit love affair does not agree with any tale in that group except "Der tote Trompeter": in that, too, the husband is a fisherman. Both the German folk-tale and the Italian novella reject blackmail as the motive of the murderers, and substitute the liaison. Possibly the conspiracy of husband and wife to defraud the monk lacked plausibility. The incident of the exchange of the body for a hog in a sack is lacking, but the novella shows no other similarity to Masuccio's novella. Angeloni's tale is a descendant of the fabliaux SM-DS (or their source), which has been modified somewhat by oral transmission, and is closely related to the German tale next to be discussed.

¹ G. Marchesi, *Per la storia della novella italiana nel secolo XVII* (Rome, 1897), 115.

"Der tote Trompeter,"¹ one of the best of the folk-tales, has been ingeniously adapted to its new home in Pomerania:

A trumpeter attached to a Swedish regiment quartered in Pomerania has criminal relations with a fisher's wife. He is killed, and the body is carried to a house (the monastery of the fabliaux) where the officers are banqueting. On coming out they knock it over and down a flight of steps. They bear it to the fisher's house because they recall the liaison. The fisher exchanges it for a hog in a sack which has been dropped by two frightened thieves. He takes the sack to its owner, the smith (instead of keeping it himself as in the fabliaux). The latter finds the corpse in place of his hog, ties it on an ass, and turns the ass loose. The beast runs between the ranks of the regiment—which is preparing to march away—and falls into a pit of slaked lime.

This agrees very closely with DS. Indeed, in the following minor details "Der tote Trompeter" agrees with DS against the fabliau's closest parallel, SM: the trumpeter (monk) is killed in a sudden fit of rage or jealousy; those who carry the corpse back to the fisher's house know of the liaison; there are two thieves, and the bearer of the corpse hears them talking.

These very same details prove also that the version in the *Histoire des Larrons*² is derived from DS. Here the tale is told of an advocate, Carilde. There is a curious turn at the end: the narrator says that the corpse alone fell into a pit which had been dug in the road, while the colt galloped on.

From the *Histoire des Larrons* the story passed into Kirkman's *History of Prince Erastus*.³ The English *Erastus* is a derivative through the French of an Italian *remaniement* of the *Seven Sages*. Kirkman found in his source the tale of *Les trois bossus menestrels* and to this he added the story he found in the *Histoire des Larrons*.⁴ He says (p. 220): "This story or example may be and hath been applied to the same purpose as the former of the Lady of Modena [i.e.,

¹ Polz, *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, III (1894), 43.

² *Histoire générale des Larrons divisée en trois livres . . . par F. D. C. Lyonnois* (i.e., François de Calvi), 3 vols. in 1 (Rouen, 1639), I, chap. xxxvi, 239-51: "De l'aunature estrange ariuee en la ville de Rouen, en la personne d'un Aduocat."

³ Ed. cit., London, 1674, pp. 206-19, in particular pp. 213 ff. It is more conveniently accessible in a summary by Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 352 ff.

⁴ The combination is not found in French, e.g., *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus . . . nouvellement traduite d'Italien en François*, Anvers, 1668, pp. 106-16; *Histoire pitoyable du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1584, pp. 251-75; *Histoire du Prince Erastus*, Paris, 1709, pp. 290-318; nor in Italian, e.g., *Erasto doppio molti secoli ritornato al fine in luce . . .* In Vineggia, Appresso di Agostino Bindoni, 1552, ff. 80b-89a; *I Compassionevoli Avvenimenti di Erasto . . .* In Vineggia, 1554, pp. 221-45. In all of these, *Les trois bossus menestrels* alone forms the eighteenth chapter.

Les trois bossus menestrels]: to shew the cruelty and little credit that is to be given to women, and by this or the former they preserved the life of Prince Erastus for one day longer." Kirkman has altered somewhat the strange adventure of the advocate Carilde. The conclusion has suffered from the necessity of fitting the new story into the *Seven Sages* as an example of the untrustworthiness of women. In Kirkman's *Erastus* the woman betrays herself and her husband by an inadvertent exclamation when she unexpectedly sees the body of the advocate; a similar incident appears in the story as it is told in Timoneda's *Patrañuelo* (see p. 245).

Longfellow also based his "Martin Franc and the Monk of Saint Anthony"¹ on DS, as is apparent for the following reasons: the increasing poverty of the merchant gives the monk, as in DS only, an opportunity to press his suit; the keys are taken, as in DS only, from the monk's belt. Longfellow either explains away or avoids the psychological difficulties which Steppuhn met in analyzing DS. This process reminds us of the changes which the author of SoM introduced, changes which indeed occasionally agree with those of Longfellow. Of course, it is not at all out of the question to hold that Longfellow knew both SoM and DS. Andrae² is surely wrong in supposing that Longfellow heard this tale in the streets of Rouen. The poet himself says: "He [the narrator] said he found it in an ancient manuscript of the Middle Ages, in the archives of the public library." What more is necessary?

Two prose retellings of DS offer no points of interest.³

A Flemish tale, "De Hoenderdief,"⁴ is told of a thief's body which is carried about by "slimme Jan." The incidents and their order are familiar. The agreement of the tale with SoM in the matter of the thieves' discovery of the exchange of the corpse for the hog before they have carried it to the inn may indicate descent from SoM, or, as is suggested by other details, may be due to the

¹ *Prose Works*, *Outremer*, I, 32-47.

² *Beiblatt zur Anglia*, X, 149.

³ *Les Bibliothèques Françaises de [François Grudé de] la Croix du Maine et de [Antoine] du Verdier, sieur de Vauprivas; revue par M. Rigoley de Juvigny (Paris, 1772-73), IV, 376-80; [Jean Pierre Nicéron et François Joachim du Tertre], Bibliothèque amusante et instructive (Paris, 1755), II, 14-15 (very much condensed). See also von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, p. liii, note 1.*

⁴ De Cock, *Volkskunde*, XIII, 227, No. 18.

condensation and consequent speeding up of the narrative. The introduction of "slimme Jan" has hastened the tempo; the corpse need not be carried back each time to its real or supposed starting-place. The conclusion (the horse and corpse run wild in a pot-market) is clearly a later addition; this incident is especially popular in North German territory.

A few tales are either broken-down forms of this variety of the *Dane Hew* type or contain reminiscences of it. They have lost its most important characteristics, and are recognizable only by the sequence of incidents. An Ammerland tale¹ of the leaning of a Catholic priest's body against a window ledge and the finding of a hog which two frightened thieves have dropped is clearly defective; but we cannot reconstruct it. One step in that direction is apparent. The husband returns with the hog after he has thrown the corpse into a swamp, and tells his wife that he exchanged the corpse for it. Obviously the story has been diverted from its proper course, and the exchange should have taken place. In several tales of the *Dane Hew* type the intention of throwing the corpse into a milldam is announced just before the incident of the hog; but in them it is not executed.

"Sor Beppo"² is a clever, well-told folk-tale from Italy:

Fra Michelaccio, who bothered everybody by begging and paid no attention to warnings, visited a house which he had been forbidden to enter. The owner said nothing, but killed him with a club. Sor Beppo, the local grave-digger, agreed to dispose of the corpse for a consideration. He leaned it against the door of an inn. Summoned again, he hung it in a butcher-shop. The butcher gave him half a gelded hog for his help. Sor Beppo buried the corpse under a heap of dead bodies, where it remains.

Features characteristic of the *Dane Hew* type are the killing with a club, and the sequence of incidents, in which the inn corresponds to the monastery, and the butcher-shop to the incident of the hog in a sack. Other tales³ explain how the butcher-shop came to have a place in the narrative. In the Middle Ages, when the fabliaux were told, an inn-keeper or householder might readily enough be supposed to

¹ Andrae, *Rom. Forsch.*, XVI, 348.

² Grisanti, *Usi, credenze, proverbi e racconti di Isello*, I (1899), 213-16.

³ Compare Pitrè, *Fiabe, novelle . . . pop. sic.*, No. 165 and *Blätter f. pomm. Volkskunde*, IX, 24-26; both are cited above in note 2 on p. 229.

have a side of pork in his larder. Today the only person likely to have so much meat at one time is the butcher. For the sake of plausibility the substitution was a ready one. In the tales cited the situation is clearer than in "Sor Beppo," where the theft of the bacon has been altered into the butcher's gift of it. This tale, like several other Italian tales, omits the ride on horseback.

"Juvadi e lu cantalanotti,"¹ a Calabrian tale with a curious history, also lacks the ride on horseback. The order of the incidents and, in large measure, the motivation are new:

Juvadi's mother kills a cock for a holiday. While they are eating it, he hears a man going past, and runs out and kills him. He puts the corpse in a sack and starts off to throw it into a ravine. On the way thither he exchanges his sack for another containing a hog. He threatens to expose the unfortunate dupe, but compromises for fifty ducats and the corpse. Then he leans it against the door of a monastery, and there, for a promise of silence, receives a similar sum, a monk's cowl, and the corpse. He now places it in an out-house, where a guardian knocks it over. From this man he extorts a hundred ducats, and together they bury the corpse.

The last incident shows striking similarities to the analogous one in the French fabliaux and in Angeloni's novella. To these tales "Juvadi e lu cantalanotti" must be intimately related. The monastery, whose appearance here is fortuitous, is corroborative evidence, if any were needed. This tale is particularly interesting because of the antecedents of its hero. Wesselski traces him back to Turkish and Arabic sources. However, there is no reason for believing that this tale also came from the East; the resemblances to the French fabliaux are conclusive on that point. In spite of the Turkish pedigree of its hero this tale looks toward the West and not the East; it cannot be used to bridge the gap between the two.

We now pass to the second subdivision of the *Dane Hew* type: that in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare on which rides a man who thinks he may be accused of murder. Our knowledge of this subdivision is based on three independent tales: "Dane

¹ Mango, *Archivio per lo studio delle trad. pop.*, X (1891), 51-52 = Wesselski, *Der Hodscha Nasreddin*, 1911, II, 122, No. 438.

For the introduction of this tale, compare another tale about Juvadi (Giufà) in Crane's *Italian Popular Tales*, pp. 294 ff. (cf. p. 380, note 16). See also Basset, *Revue des trad. pop.*, XVII, 92; Moulières, *Fourberies de Si Djeh'a*, No. 21 (see also Basset, *Tableau Comparatif*, p. 18, note 6, in the same book).

Hew," the first novella of Masuccio and its derivatives, and "Os dos irmãos."

On the whole, the English "Dane Hew"¹ agrees very closely with the fabliaux SM-DS except for the decisive incident of the mare. The story is as follows:

Dane Hew, a young and lusty monk of the abbey of Leicester, has long cherished designs on a tailor's wife. At last he makes his wishes known to her. She feigns to consent, and agrees to an assignation for the following morning. That evening, however, she tells all to her husband, and disclaims any intention of giving him a "cuckold's hood." On the morrow the tailor conceals himself in a chest. When the monk arrives and hands over the 20 nobles he had promised, she opens the chest to put them in it; out leaps the tailor, and kills the monk with a blow on the head. In the evening he bears the body to the abbey and lays it against the wall. There the abbot's man finds it. When Dane Hew refuses to answer the summons to come to the abbot and explain his absence, the servitor informs the abbot of the situation. The abbot calls for his staff, and finding Dane Hew still unresponsive, "gaue him such a rap, That he fel down at that clap." For forty shillings the abbot's man, who is aware of the monk's unfortunate attachment, bears the body back to the tailor's. The tailor, restless with dreams of the monk, rises in the night. He finds the corpse at his door, and "slays" it again with a pole-ax. It is too near morning to dispose of the body. On the following night the tailor bears it away with the intention of throwing it in a milldam. He terrifies two thieves into dropping a stolen hog in a sack, and leaves the corpse for the thieves. They discover the exchange in one of their homes, and take the corpse back to the miller from whom they had stolen the hog. The miller must wait until the next night. Then he mounts Dane Hew on the abbot's horse, and puts a long pole in the monk's hand. In the morning the horse pursues the abbot's mare when he rides out to supervise his workmen. They beat the corpse with clubs and staves. Then it is buried.

This story, told in rough couplets, is preserved on six leaves printed in black letter by John Allde. The date of its publication cannot be exactly determined. It is approximately given by the fact that the first mention of Allde as a printer is in 1554.² Clouston

¹ Hazlitt, *Remains of the Early Popular Poetry of England*, III, 130-46.

It is summarized in J. Aubrey, *Letters of Eminent Men* (London, 1813), I, 119-27 (in a letter from Mr. Wanley to Dr. Charlett on the meaning of the title *Dan*). The first lines are quoted in Nichols, *History of Leicestershire* (1795), I, 287.

Hazlitt's reference to Bolsrobert, *Menagiana*, "The Three Ravens," is incorrect. In *Menagiana ou les bons mots et remarques critiques . . . de Monsieur Menage, recueillis par ses amis* (3d ed., Paris, 1715), III, 83-85, there is a tale of Bolsrobert's about the three Racans, which has no interest for us.

² Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 354.

believes that the rudeness of the language justifies him in dating the composition of the verse about a century earlier. In that case it would be roughly contemporaneous with Masuccio's *Novellino* (finished in 1476). "Dane Hew" has the same details in common with DS as "Der tote Trompeter" and the story in the *Histoire des Larrons*. There are certain concessions to good taste. The *pertruis* incident is modified and the *fumier* has disappeared. The most important changes are the introduction of the abbot's man and the distributing of the corpse's adventures over several nights. Both of these are certainly innovations. The discovery of the corpse takes place in the home of one of the thieves, not at an inn. The details of the concluding incident—the corpse beaten by the abbot's men—are probably unoriginal. No doubt the story should have ended with the corpse falling into a pit, as in Masuccio's novella and the fabliaux. Although Masuccio's version of the story later became very popular in England, it is curious to note that knowledge of "Dane Hew" is based solely on this black-letter print of John Allde's. There are no folk-tales derived from "Dane Hew," and the story has been known only to antiquarians. "Dane Hew" is a very important version because it throws new light on the relations of all the other tales in its group.

In the history of literature by far the most important variant of this subdivision is Masuccio's first novella;¹ more than a dozen tales in England, France, Italy, and Germany are derived directly or indirectly from it. Because this novella contains the incident of the pursuit of the mare it must be derived from the same source as the English "Dane Hew."² Two facts are characteristic of this Italian form: the husband wishes the monk to come in order to revenge himself (not as a blackmailing scheme); and the incident of the exchange of the corpse for a hog in a sack is omitted.

The oldest derivative of Masuccio's novella, in the *Comptes du monde adventureux*,³ does not deserve especial notice. The popularity

¹ Il *Novellino* di Masuccio Salernitano (ed. Settembrini), I, 7-23. The *narrazione* occupies pp. 8-21. The *Novellino* first appeared in 1476.

² Steppuhn's arguments (pp. 44, 48) have no weight. They are concerned with similarities in motivation, and show only that two skilful narrators (Masuccio and the author of SoM) hit upon the same devices to make their stories plausible.

³ No. 23 (ed. F. Frank [Paris, 1878], I, 125). On the *Comptes* see Toldo, *Contributo allo studio della novella francese*, p. 119, and the review by G. Paris, *Journal des savants*, 1895, pp. 350-55.

of the novella in England is particularly noteworthy. Here it was told as a humorous anecdote, versified, dramatized, and even taken into a county history. All of the English examples rest ultimately on Thomas Heywood's *History of Women*.¹ Some are derived directly,² and others through Blomefield's *History of Norfolk*.³ Both are localized at Norwich, but only the latter is associated with Sir Thomas Erpingham. None of the various versifications has any singular merit; the least distinguished is the anonymous *Hue-and-Cry after the Priest*. Jodrell says in his preface (p. vi): "I have deviated in no important point from the letter, but have only embellished the narrative with poetical colours." The first two lines:

When guilt pursues the coward soul
Vain is our flight from pole to pole

show what his "poetical colours" were. The cleverest versions—both burlesques—are those of Hardinge and Colman.

The two derivatives of Masuccio's novella which make the greatest pretensions to literary art are curiously different and yet intimately related. Batacchi's "*Il morto a cavallo*"⁴ is a clever mock-heroic poem. The description of the awakening of the passion which leads to the monk's downfall will characterize the whole:

Non sì veloce giù dal ciel turbato,
l'elettrica favilla al suol discende,
nè la quercia che cento anni sprezzato
avea 'l furor dell' aquilone incende,
come lo stral del crudo Dio d'amore
ratto piagò del padre Marco il cuore.

¹ London, 1624, pp. 253-56, "The Faire Lady of Norwich."

² T. Heywood, *The Captives*, I, ii; II, i; III, i, iii; IV, iii (in Bullen, *Old Plays* London, 1885), IV, 105-217; *Pasquil's Jests*, London, n.d. (ca. 1634; an enlarged edition), pp. 51-53, "A pretty tale of two friars"; Burton, *Unparalleled Varieties*, 4th ed., 1699, chap. vi, 167; *A Hue-and-Cry after the Priest; or the Consent*, London, 1749.

³ F. Blomefield, *An Essay towards a Topographical History of the County of Norfolk* (London, 1807), VI, 415-18. The passage is reprinted from an earlier edition of Blomefield in *Gentleman's Magazine*, L (1780), 310-12.

It has been versified by R. P. Jodrell as *The Knight and Friars; an historick tale*, London, 1785, pp. 9-26 (pp. 27-31, a reprint of Blomefield); by George Colman the Younger in *Broad Grins*, London, 1802, pp. 40-106, "The Knight and the Friar"; by George Hardinge in *Miscellaneous Works*, London, 1818, II, 322-30, "The Knight and the Two Friars."

Gough (*British Topographer* [London, 1780], II, 27) cites "The fair lady of Norwich; or the pleasant history of two friars, John and Richard"; this may be still another reworking of the tale.

⁴ D. L. Batacchi, *Novelle* (ed. F. Tribolati), I, 289 ff., No. 12.

"Der Todte zu Ross,"¹ which is derived from Batacchi, takes as its text "Wehe dem, den Amor zum Spielwerke seiner Launen wählt." Langbein seeks plausibility, not rhetorical effect, and writes in a spirit of drab reality. A Spanish version of Masuccio's novella is of some interest because it gives a new conclusion to the tale. This, the third *patraña* of Timoneda,² ends with an incident showing the untrustworthiness of women which is comparable to the conclusion of the tale in Kirkman's *Erastus*. In a quarrel between husband and wife, the real murderers, she betrays their guilt and they are condemned to death.³

There still remains for consideration the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos e a mulher morta."⁴ This is a combination of the types *Tote Frau* and *Dane Hew*, and does some violence to both in the joining. After beginning essentially as the *Tote Frau* type does (with the exception that the body is kept over night in a church and starts its wanderings from there rather than from the grave), the corpse is exchanged for a hog in a sack, is carried to an inn, is leaned against a door, and is then mounted on an ass which pursues the priest on a mare until the priest dashes his brains out against the lintel of a door. This tale does not preserve the characteristic order of the incidents, and seems imperfect in other details. Why should the innocent priest—he is called to excommunicate the "devil" in the old woman—flee and brain himself? This tale cannot be derived from Masuccio's novella, because it contains the incident of the hog in the sack which Masuccio omitted. It cannot be derived from the three French fabliaux, because it contains the incident of the mare. It stands nearest to the English "Dane Hew," but it can be related to that only through a common source. Thus this sadly mutilated tale proves to be a useful confirmation of the existence of a common source of Masuccio's novella and "Dane Hew, Munk of Leicester."

The results of this study of the variants of the *Dane Hew* group may now be summed up. There are two subdivisions of this group:

¹ A. F. E. Langbein, *Sämmtliche Schriften* (Stuttgart, 1837), XXVII, 192-214, No. 8.

² Juan de Timoneda, *El Patrañuelo* (= *Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, III), p. 134, No. 3. It is a derivative of Masuccio's novella; cf. Menéndez y Pelayo, *Orígenes de la Novela* (= *Nueva Biblioteca de Autores Españoles*, VII), II, p. III, note 3.

³ For parallels, see von der Hagen, *Gesamtabenteuer*, III, p. xlv, note 1; Clouston, *Popular Tales and Fictions*, II, 357 ff.

⁴ See note 1 on p. 225.

one in which the corpse is mounted on a horse which runs wild, and another in which the horse bearing the corpse pursues a mare. The variants of the former and older subdivision are due to oral and not literary transmission. The *fabliau*, "Du segretain ou du moine," stands aside from the line of direct descent; it is a *remaniement* by a clever hand. The subdivision is better represented by the two *fabliaux*, "Du segretain moine" and "Le dit dou soucretain." Closely allied to these two are several clever folk-tales which exhibit minor changes caused by oral transmission. The continued popularity of this type of tale among the folk is proved by the existence of tales which seem to be corrupt versions of this group. The state of affairs is quite different with the second subdivision; it has been spread broadcast by literary means. It is composed of three tales which imply the existence of a French tale differing from the two last-named *fabliaux* by the insertion of the pursuit of the mare. Stephuhn held that this development took place in the Iberian peninsula, for he knew it only in Masuccio's novella, which claims a Spanish source,¹ and in the Portuguese "Os dos irmãos." This opinion is less tenable since the addition of the English "Dane Hew" to the list of variants. These three can only be derived from a common source, which, from geographical considerations, was probably French. The English and Portuguese tales have given rise to no new forms; they are important only in determining the history of the story. The Italian novella has enjoyed a remarkable literary success, such as fell to the lot of no other tale about the wanderings of a corpse.

I am indebted to Professor George Lyman Kittredge for the suggestion of this paper, and for helpful criticism. Dr. Paull F. Baum has been very generous in tracing references for me.

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¹ Amalfi, "Quellen und Parallelen zum Novellino des Salernitaners Masuccio," *Zt. d. V. J. Vte.*, IX, 38, does not question this claim.

DRYDEN'S *TEMPEST* AS A SOURCE OF BODMER'S *NOAH*

In Shakespeare's *Tempest*, Act I, scene ii, Prospero, in the course of his conversation with Ariel, recalls the following incident:

Refusing her grand hests, she did confine thee,
By help of her more potent ministers
And in her most unmitigable rage
Into a cloven pine; within which rift
Imprison'd thou didst painfully remain
A dozen years
If thou more murmur'st, I will rend an oak
And peg thee in his knotty entrails till
Thou hast howl'd away twelve winters.¹

Two passages very similar to this appear in Bodmer's *Noah*. The first occurs in a characterization of the giant Gog:

Ihn vergnügte, wann er auf einen Sklaven erzürnt war,
Eine Fichte zu spalten, und Hand und Fuss in der Spalte
Eingekerkert drei Tag' ihn schmachten zu lassen.

[Canto V, ll. 487-89.]²

Later, Bodmer's angel Raphael commands the two giants, Gog and Perez, to prepare the lumber required for the ark. After issuing the command he adds the direful threat:

Murret ihr unter der Bürde, so will ich den Eichbaum zerspalten,
Und euch beide will ich in sein knorrichtes Eingeweid' klemmen,
Bis ihr drei langsame Tage darin verheult habt.

[VI, 143-45.]

The striking resemblance between these German and English passages was noted by Ellinger, and again by Köster. Ellinger remarks cautiously: "Vielleicht hat Prosperos Erzählung von Ariels Gefangenschaft, der Sturm, I, ii, Bodmer die Anregung zu der

¹ Globe edition, ll. 274-79, 294-96.

² This and the following passage are quoted from the edition of 1765; they are not contained in the shorter version of 1750. All the other citations, however, are made from the edition of 1750: *Noah, ein Helden-Gedicht*, Frankfurt und Leipzig, published anonymously.

Erfindung gegeben."¹ Köster's inference is very positive: "Diese Stelle ist ein Beweis dafür, dass Bodmer, ebenso wie Haller, Shakespeare sehr gut gekannt hat."²

The motif, to be sure, is Shakespearean; but Bodmer, I believe, did not derive it from Shakespeare. In 1667 Dryden, in collaboration with Sir William Davenant, prepared an adaptation of Shakespeare's *Tempest*, and in it took over almost word for word the lines from Shakespeare quoted above.³ Many other passages in Bodmer's *Noah* are, as I shall proceed to show, clearly derived from Dryden's play. It was therefore from Dryden's version rather than from Shakespeare's that Bodmer derived his cloven pine and oak.

It may not be amiss to recall at this point that Bodmer was an inveterate borrower of literary material. Nor did he attempt to conceal the fact; on the contrary, he was surprisingly ready to confess his borrowing proclivity, and on several occasions was even at some pains to justify his practice.

In Dryden's adapted *Tempest* Prospero, the Duke of Milan, is, by his usurping brother Antonio, borne out to sea together with his two young daughters, Miranda and Dorinda, and put ashore on a remote island. Novel situations subsequently arise from the fact that Prospero's ward Hippolito, who is likewise brought to the same island, has never beheld a woman,⁴ while Prospero's daughters have never looked upon a man other than their father. Here on the lonely, enchanted island the members of the little group pass their days, the daughters being kept in one cave and—without their knowledge—Hippolito in another. Fifteen years have elapsed

¹ C. F. Nicolai, *Briefe über den itzigen Zustand der schönen Wissenschaften in Deutschland* (ed. G. Ellinger), p. xix. The *Briefe* were first published in 1755. Nicolai had read the *Noah* in the edition of 1752, which contains the second of the two passages quoted above. He classes that passage with the "Märchen, die allen Witz der Kunstrichter erschöpfen würden, wenn sie in einem alten Dichter ständen, und die bei einem neueren Dichter ganz und gar nicht zu entschuldigen sind" (1755 ed., p. 56). He does not suspect the source of the passage.

² C. O. Frh. von Schönaltch, *Neologisches Wörterbuch* (ed. A. Köster), p. 499.

³ *The Tempest*, in *The Works of John Dryden* (ed. Scott and Saintsbury), III, 124.

⁴ Cf. Act I, sc. ii. This idea, as Dryden himself states in the preface to the play, was conceived by Davenant as the "counterpart to Shakespeare's plot." In the Shakespearean play Miranda is represented as having seen but two men prior to her meeting with Ferdinand, who is, as she confesses [Act I, sc. ii], "the first That e'er I sighed for."

since their arrival in their island abode. A ship founders upon the shore. Miranda sees the disaster, and makes report:

. . . . Sister, I have news to tell you:
In this great creature [sc. the ship] there were other creatures;
And shortly we may chance to see that thing
Which you have heard my father call a man.

[Act I, sc. ii.]

Eventually Hippolito and the sisters meet; Miranda retires, and Hippolito and Dorinda enter into conversation.

In the *Noah*, Japhet, who has never set eyes upon a woman, chances upon Sipha's three daughters; two of them withdraw, and Japhet enters into conversation with the third.¹

The most notable of Bodmer's specific borrowings from Dryden's play are listed below. The English passages have been arranged in the order of their occurrence; opposite each will be found the German parallel passage or passages.

*The Tempest*²

*Noah*³

Act I, sc. ii

Mir. I have heard
My father say, we women were made
for him [sc. man].

[P. 128.]

. . . . die Liebe, den letzten, den
göttlichsten Abdruck,
Die hat der Schöpfer dem Adam
tief in sein Herz eingegraben:
Für ihn ausgeschaffen bracht Gott
ihm die Mutter der Menschen.

[III, 103-5.]

Eben die Liebe hat Gott auch in
unser Herz eingegraben,
Für uns ausgeschaffen bringt Gott
uns die Töchter des Sipha.

[III, 110-11.]

¹ It appears highly probable that Wieland's *Zemin und Gulindy* is indebted to this episode of Japhet and Sipha's daughter as contained in the *Noah*—a relation which was overlooked by Budde in his *Wieland und Bodmer* (cf. p. 140). The motif in Wieland's poem is the same; nor are verbal correspondences between the two poems lacking.

² The quotations are from the edition mentioned in note 3 on p. 248.

³ The quotations are from the edition of 1750; see note 2 on p. 247. In this edition the borrowed passages are at times closer to the text of the *Tempest* than they are in later editions.

The Tempest

Act II, sc. ii

Hip. Sir, I have often heard you
say, no creature
Lived in this isle, but those which
man was lord of.

Why, then, should I fear?

Prosp. But here are creatures which
I named not to thee,

Who share man's sovereignty by
nature's laws,

And oft depose him from it.

[P. 138.]

Prosp. Imagine something between
young men and angels;
Fatally beauteous, and have killing
eyes:

Their voices charm beyond the
nightingale's;

They are all enchantment: Those,
who once behold them

Are made their slaves for ever.

[P. 138.]

Noah

Wahrlich ein Mädchen muss eine
besiegende Macht in sich haben,
Dass es den Ernst und den höhern
Verstand des Mannes bezwinget,
Welcher bey seiner Anmuth den
kürzern zieht und verschwindet.

[III, 28-30.]

Nichtsdestoweniger geh ich mit
vollem Vertrauen hinüber,
Diesem schönen Geschlecht zu be-
geggen, und von ihm zu kommen,
Ohne dass unter dem Liebreiz die
Hoheit des Mannes erliege.

Erstlich zwar hoff ich des Sipa
Töchter seyn besser erzogen,
Als den Himmel der Schönheit zum
Fall der Weisheit zu brauchen,
Welche der Schöpfer dem Mann zum
Merkmal der Herrschaft ertheilt
hat.

[III, 34-39.]

Sie sind ein Mittelding zwischen
dem Jüngling und Engel.

[III, 62.]

. . . . Mädchen der unteren Erde,
von welchen mein Vater
Warnend sagte, sie tödteten mit
den verletzenden Augen,
Und mit Worten hauchten sie Gift
in der Jünglinge Herzen.

[I, 169-71.]

. . . . In Wahrheit weiss ich nicht
Was das ist, mit den Augen umbrin-
gen, mit Worten vergiften.

[I, 174-75.]

Dieses Entzücken

Scheinet mir eine natürliche Zau-
berey, die uns verstricket.

[III, 206, 212.]

The Tempest

Hip. Are they so beautiful?

Prosp. Calm sleep is not so soft;
nor winter suns,

Nor summer shades, so pleasant.

Hip. Can they be fairer than the
plumes of swans?

Or more delightful than the peacock's
feathers?

Or than the gloss upon the necks of
doves?

Or have more various beauty than
the rainbow?—

These I have seen, and, without
danger, wondered at.

[P. 139.]

Prosp. But all the danger lies in
a wild young man.

[P. 140.]

Act II, sc. iii

Dor. Though I die for it, I must
have the other peep.

[P. 143.]

Dor. I'm told I am
A woman; do not hurt me, pray,
fair thing.

Hip. I'd sooner tear my eyes out,
than consent

To do you any harm.

[P. 143.]

Noah

Ist sie so gross als man sagt, ist die
Schönheit der Mädchen so mächtig?

[III, 44.]

Weder der sanfte Schlaf ist so sanft,
noch der Sommerlaube
Kühlende Schatten so lieblich.

[III, 63–64.]

Können sie heller seyn, als die
weissen Federn der Schwäne;
Oder anmuthiger als der Glanz an
dem Nacken der Tauben;

Oder sind ihre Farben verschiedner
und feiner vertheilet,

Als der vielfärbigte Bogen in einem
treufelnden Staube,

Welchen ein Wasserfall sprützt,
den die Sonnen-Stralen gebrochen?

Dieses sind Schönheiten, welche
man ohne Gefährlichkeit siehet.

[III, 45–50.]

Was für ein Loos steht euch von den
wildern Männern zu fürchten!

[III, 819.]

Aber wie grosse Gefahr der Anblick
der Mädchen begleitet,

Könnst ich der Neugier nicht wider-
stehn das Wunder zu sehen.

[III, 51–52.]

. . . . du kömmt nicht uns zu
verletzen.

An statt dich verletzen zu wollen,

Bin ich bereit mein Leben mit
deinem Blut zu verweben.

[I, 147–49.]

*The Tempest**Noah*

Dor. I've touched my father's and
my sister's hands,
And felt no pain; but now, alas!
there's something,
When I touch yours, which makes
me sigh.

[P. 144.]

Aber vornemlich durchlief mich
ein zärtlich pochendes Fühlen
Mit so lieblichen Schlägen, dass ich
von starker Empfindung
Seufzete, da ich die Hand des einen
Mädchens ergriffen.

[III, 71-73.]

Act III, sc. ii

Prosp. you shall see
Another of this kind, the full-blown
flower,
Of which this youth was but the
opening bud.

[P. 153.]

Sonderbar eine von ihnen, die deren
Hand ich ergriffen,
Eine nicht völlig entwickelte Rosen
-Knospe: sie blickt erst
Mit halb verhülltem Antlitz aus
ihrem deckenden Flohre.
Lasset mir diese, und theilet euch in
die übrigen beyden,
Zwo ausgebreitete Rosen in ihrer
vollkommenen Blüte.

[III, 77-81.]

Dor. That dangerous man runs
ever in my mind.

[P. 155.]

Und das Gefühl ist mir seitdem
immer geblieben, abwesend
Schweben die lieblichen Bilder mir
vor dem Gesicht, sie besuchen
Mich nicht bloss in den Stunden
mitternächtlichen Schlafes.

[III, 74-76.]

Dor. it looked so lovely,
That when I would have fled away,
my feet
Seemed fastened to the ground.

[P. 156.]

Dieses Entzücken, das uns beym
Anblick der weiblichen Schönheit
Mit so starker Gewalt überfiel, das
unsere Füße
An den Boden befestigt'.

[III, 207-9.]

Dor. touching
His hand again, my heart did beat
so strong,
As I lacked breath to answer what
he asked.

[P. 156.]

Dieses Pochen und Zittern in un-
serm schwerathmenden Busen,
Dieses Entzücken, das
. . . . uns der Sprache beraubte.

[III, 206-9.]

DRYDEN'S "TEMPEST" AS A SOURCE OF BODMER'S "NOAH" 61

The Tempest

Noah

Act III, sc. v

Mir. There's nothing ill can dwell
in such a temple:
If the evil spirit hath so fair a house,
Good things will strive to dwell
with it.

[P. 171.]

Mich bedünkt es nicht glaublich,
dass solch ein Himmel der Schön-
heit
Schuldige Geister besitzet.

[III, 66-67.]

Aber wo so viel Schönheit wohnt,
wohnt auch gewiss so viel Tugend.
Sollte das Böse solch eine schöne
Behausung besitzen,
O so würde das Gute versucht,
Platz bey ihm zu nehmen.

[III, 222-24.]

Act III, sc. vi

Ferd. All beauties are not pleasing
alike to all.

[P. 177.]

Jegliche Schönheit thut nicht den
gleichen Eindruck auf alle.

[III, 149.]

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LORENZO DE' MEDICI AND BOETHIUS

Among the *Rime spirituali* of Lorenzo de' Medici are five *capitoli*, which begin respectively as follows:

- I Magno Iddio, per la cui costante legge.
- II Grazie a te, sommo, esuperante Nume.
- III Santo Iddio, padre di ciò che 'l mondo empie.
- IV Oda quest' inno tutta la natura.
- V Beato chi nel concilio non va.¹

Some years ago Bonardi pointed out that the last four of these poems are free translations of Latin Platonic or biblical originals. Nos. II, III, and IV represent certain hymns of Hermes Trismegistus as translated by Marsilio Ficino: No. II the final hymn of the *Asclepius*, No. III the hymn at the end of the second chapter of the *Pimander*, and No. IV the hymn in *Pimander*, XIII. No. V is the First Psalm.²

Bonardi suggests that the one remaining *capitolo* (No. IV in his numbering) is probably of similar origin:

Io credo che, cercando, si troverebbe ch' è parafrasi di qualche altro passo d' autore latino anche l' Orazione IV:

Magno Dio, per la cui costante legge.

Lorenzo's poem is, in fact, a paraphrase of the ninth *metrum* of the third book of Boethius' *De consolatione philosophiae*. I quote in evidence the opening and closing portions of the two poems:

Magno Iddio, per la cui costante legge
e sotto il cui perpetuo governo
questo universo si conserva e regge;
del tutto Creator, che dallo eterno
punto comandi corra il tempo labile,
come rota faria su fisso perno;
queto sempre, e giamai non mutabile,
fai e muti ogni cosa, e tutto muove
da te, fermo motore infaticabile . . .

O qui perpetua mundum
ratione gubernas

Terrarum caelique sator
qui tempus ab aevo
Ire iubes
stabilisque manens
das cuncta moueri . . .

¹ I follow the numbering and the text of the Simioni edition, Bari, II (1913), 119 ff.

² C. Bonardi, "Le orazioni di Lorenzo il Magnifico e l' inno finale della Circe di G. B. Gelli," *Giornale storico della letteratura italiana*, XXXIII (1899), 77-82.

Concedi, o Padre, l' alta e sacra sede
monti la mente, e vegga il vivo fonte,
fonte ver, bene onde ogni ben procede.

Mostra la luce vera alla mia fronte,
e, poi ch' è conosciuto il tuo bel Sole,
dell' alma ferma in lui le luci pronte.

Fuga le nebbie e la terrestre mole
leva da me, e splendi in la tua luce:
tu se' quel sommo Ben che ciascun vuole.

A te dolce riposo si conduce,
e te, come suo fin, vede ogni pio,
tu se' principio, portatore e duce,
la via e 'l termin tu, sol magno Iddio.

Da pater augustam menti
conscendere sedem,
Da fontem lustrare boni,
da luce reperta

In te conspicuos animi
defigere uisus.

Dissice terrenae nebulas
et pondera molis

Atque tuo splendore mica:
tu namque serenum

Tu requies tranquilla piis,
te cernere finis

Principium uector dux
semita terminus idem.¹

This *capitolo*, like Nos. II, III, and IV, is Platonic in character, for the poem of Boethius is itself a summary of the first half of the *Timaeus*.

Scarano, failing to perceive the relation of Lorenzo's poem either to Boethius or to the *Timaeus*, calls it an instance of pantheistic syncretism:

In queste terzine apparisce ancora più qual sincretismo filosofico, quasi panteistico, fosse quello del Ficino e quindi de' suoi discepoli: non mancano qui gli esemplari platonici, le forme d' Aristotele, l' amore e la bontà di Dio.²

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¹ I quote from the edition by Peiper, Leipzig, 1871.

² N. Scarano, "Il platonismo nelle poesie di Lorenzo de' Medici," *Nuova antologia*, CXXX (=Ser. III, Vol. XLVI), 1893 (August 15), 627.

